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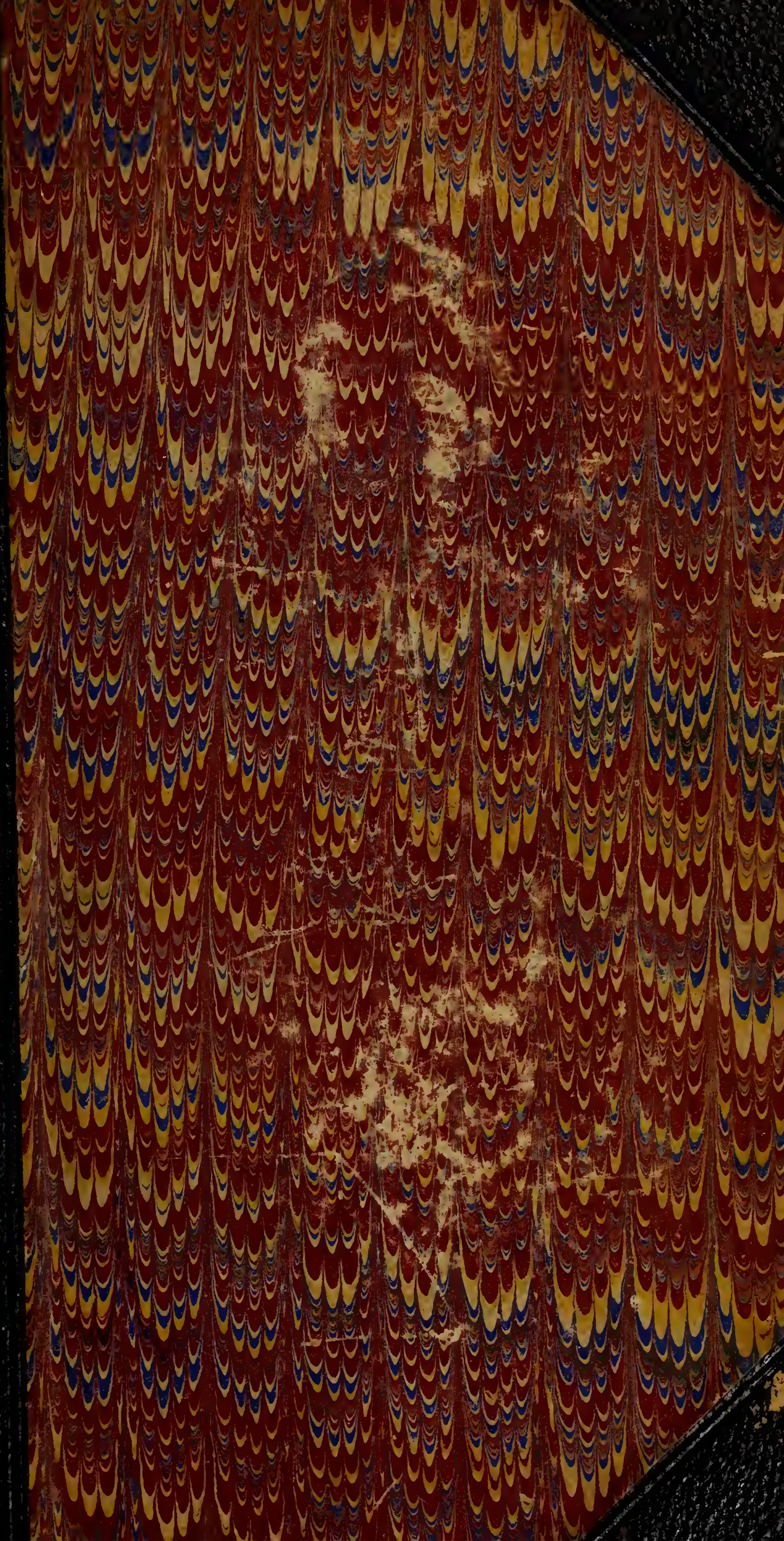

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NARRATIVE

OF

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S MISSION

TO

CHINA AND JAPAN

"All sad the scene, a cheerless spot!
'Ah! woe,' I cry, 'an Envoy's lot—
Exiled, forlorn! How small his fame!'—
'Peace!' saith my Muse; 'I'll aid thee; bear
Thine honoured toils. Away with care,
Nor murmur at thy country's claim.'"

HWASHANA'S *Complaint*, vol. i. p. 441.

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NARRATIVE

OF

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S MISSION

TO

CHINA AND JAPAN

IN THE YEARS 1857, '58, '59.

BY

LAURENCE OLIPHANT

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

Author of the "Russian Shores of the Black Sea," &c.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS & PHOTOGRAPHS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

In the following pages I have endeavoured to give a history of the proceedings of the Special Mission to China and Japan, which extended over a period of two years. It has been thrown into the shape of a personal narrative, in the hope that it would convey, in a more amusing and readable form, the record of our experiences in those Empires.

Events have recently transpired in China which are deeply to be regretted, although they may possibly invest this work with an interest that it might not else have deserved. The untoward character of those events and the serious consequences which they will probably entail, seemed to warrant my entering at greater length than I should otherwise have done into details, more especially connected with the policy which Lord Elgin thought it expedient to adopt, and the difficulties with which he had to contend at the mouth of the Peiho.

The description I have given of Japan may very possibly be found to be somewhat at variance with the accounts which we may continue to receive from that Empire. It is nevertheless in accordance with the results of our observation, and, I trust, conveys truthfully the impressions we were led to form of that country during our short residence in its capital. The circumstances under which we visited it were, perhaps, calculated to present to us the bright rather than the gloomy side of the picture. Our imaginations had not been excited by the glowing descriptions of former visitors, and our most sanguine anticipations consequently fell far short of the pleasing reality. We met with frankness and courtesy where we expected suspicion and reserve. In a country noted for its jealous distrust of foreigners, we enjoyed an entire immunity from all restrictions upon our personal liberty. We were prepared for a diplomatic contest with a government rigid in its adherence to a traditional policy of exclusiveness. A fortnight sufficed to enable us to conclude a Treaty with it upon a most liberal basis. We had just passed a year in China, and all comparisons made with that Empire were in favour of Japan.

That certain special reasons may have operated to render our reception at Yedo altogether exceptional, and to secure our diplomatic success, is very possible. It was only natural to suppose that, when those reasons had ceased to exist, those who followed us should experience a very different treatment.

In the accounts furnished by strangers of little-known countries, much depends upon the medium through which their observations are made—much also upon their capacity and knowledge of the world. Thus the diplomatist who expects to find the Japanese guided by the moral code of Western nations—desirous of giving effect to the stipulations of a treaty which they only accepted as an inevitable necessity, and anxious to increase their intercourse with a race which has been held for upwards of two centuries in aversion and abhorrence—will probably describe them in a manner calculated to reflect less on their intelligence than his own. So, the merchant who expresses indignation and disgust at the reluctance of the Government to assist him in his commercial enterprises,—at its peculiar notions of political economy, and at the ignorance betrayed by his customers, of all mercantile transactions on a grand scale, is certainly not likely to succeed in establishing a large "connection." While a gentleman whose previous range of observation has been limited, on arriving in Japan from England, may be surprised at finding that it differs in some respects, in a social point of view, from his own country, and that the same articles of diet are not universally used by the human family, in all quarters of the globe.

It is, however, most desirable that a new country should be presented in all its aspects—and it is only just to ourselves to state, that the impressions we received during the brief period of our stay in Yedo are thoroughly borne out by the experiences of the Dutch, whose knowledge of the Japanese has extended over a period of two centuries and a half; as well as confirmed by those Americans who have resided for some years in the country. Meantime, we may hope for the most beneficial results from the Embassy which is about to be despatched by the Japanese Government to the nations of the West.

The very talented and truthful drawings, of which I have been permitted by Lord Elgin to avail myself, were presented to his Lordship by Mr Bedwell, R.N., who accompanied the Mission to Japan in the yacht Emperor.

I am indebted to Mr Jocelyn for several admirable photographs of the principal Chinese officials with whom we came in contact. My thanks are also due to Dr Saunders, for the Meteorological Register with which he kindly furnished me.

ATHENÆUM CLUB,
15*th Dec.* 1859.

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NARRATIVE

OF

LORD ELGIN'S MISSION

TO

CHINA AND JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WAR—THE ARROW CASE—POLICY OF SIR JOHN BOWRING—HOSTILITIES AT CANTON—RIGHT OF ENTRY INTO THE CITY—BOMBARDMENT OF YEH'S YAMUN—THE RESULTS—INSULT TO AMERICAN FLAG—DESTRUCTION OF THE FACTORIES—ABANDONMENT OF THE FACTORY POSITION—POSITION OF AFFAIRS IN FEBRUARY 1857—EFFECT OF THE FOREGOING OPERATIONS.

THE earlier incidents of the political rupture with the Chinese Commissioner Yeh, which occurred at Canton during the autumn of 1856—and which led to the appointment of a Special Mission to China, for the purpose of settling existing differences, and if possible of placing our relations with that Empire upon a new and enlarged basis—were too thoroughly canvassed at the time, to render it necessary to renew here any discussion on their merits, or recall at length their details. As the "Arrow case" derived its interest, then, from the debates to which it gave rise, and its effects on parties at home, rather than from any intrinsic value of its own, so does it now mainly owe its importance to the accidental circumstance, that it was the remote and insignificant cause which led to a total revolution in the foreign policy of the Celestial Empire, and to the demolition of most of those barriers which, while they were designed to restrict all intercourse from without, furnished the nations of the West with fruitful sources of quarrel, and perpetual grievances.

But though in this particular instance the "alleged insult" itself claims but a brief notice, and that merely as a matter of history, the steps taken by our diplomatic and naval authorities on the spot to redress it, are worthy of a fuller consideration, because there can be little doubt that it was in consequence of the results which these entailed,—coupled with other causes which will be hereafter mentioned,—that Lord Elgin was compelled to adopt a line of policy not altogether in accordance with his original instructions, as defined in the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston, during the session of 1857. That this may be the more clearly apprehended, and a correct estimate formed of the embarrassing nature of the difficulties with which the High Commissioner found himself surrounded at the outset, it will be necessary to narrate briefly the course of events which occurred in the Canton River previous to his arrival. Their consideration will enable us at once to perceive, how humiliating was the attitude we were occupying in the eyes of the Chinese, and more especially of the Cantonese—how grave the injury which our national prestige was suffering in consequence—and how inconvenient were the complications arising out of the anomalous position in which Great Britain found herself placed with reference to other nations.

It will be remembered that on the 8th of October 1856, a party of Chinese executives in charge of an officer, boarded the lorcha Arrow, a vessel registered under an ordinance passed at Hong-Kong eighteen months before, tore down the flag, and carried away the Chinese crew, refusing to listen either to the remonstrances of the master, or of the Consul, and insisting that the vessel was not British, but Chinese. Her papers were at the time in the Consulate, but her register had expired more than a month before. Still Mr Parkes maintained that she was entitled to protection under clause 10 of the ordinance, she not having been in the waters of the colony since the date of the expiry of the register. Mr Parkes at once wrote to the Imperial Commissioner, Yeh, complaining of the outrage, and offering to investigate any charge that might be brought against the persons seized. He also acquainted Sir J. Bowring and Commodore Elliot, the senior naval officer at hand, with the particulars of the circumstance. In the correspondence that ensued, Yeh refused to admit to Mr Parkes that the lorcha was British, and maintained that some of the crew were pirates. He offered to return nine men. Mr Parkes, however, was instructed to demand an apology in writing from Yeh—the return of the Chinese arrested to their ship—and their delivery to the authorities, if delivered, by and through the Consul. Yeh persisted, in his reply, that the lorcha was not foreign property, had no flag flying, promised that Chinese officers should not seize foreign lorchas, and urged that foreigners should not sell registers to Chinese subjects building vessels. Meantime Sir John Bowring had threatened the Commissioner with an application to the naval authorities; and a junk, supposed to be an Imperial junk, but afterwards found to be a merchant vessel, was seized by way of reprisal, and released. On the 15th of October, Mr Parkes informed Yeh of this seizure, also that a naval force was at the Barrier Forts. On the 21st inst., Mr Parkes, under instructions, advised Yeh that, unless the requisition made was complied with, within twenty-four hours, ulterior measures would be adopted.

In consequence of this threat, an hour before the expiry of the term, the twelve men were sent to the Consulate, but without an officer of rank, or any letter of apology. Mr Parkes wrote again to Yeh. Nothing resulting, he circulated among the foreign community the letter containing the ultimatum of the 21st. The same day Yeh had written, repeating his former arguments, and remonstrating against the seizure of the merchant junk. On the 22d Mr Parkes replied to this as before, and in the evening warned the community by circular that the question was now in the hands of Her Majesty's Senior Naval officer. Correspondence to the same effect passed between Yeh and Sir John Bowring. It had in the mean time been decided by Sir John Bowring, in consultation with Admiral Seymour, that "the most judicious measure of compulsion" to be adopted would be "the seizure of the defences of the city of Canton." In pursuance of this policy, on the 23d October Admiral Seymour took possession of the four Barrier Forts, Blenheim Fort, and Macao Fort, without loss, and scarce a semblance of resistance, and, through the Consul, advised Yeh of his arrival and intention to continue hostile proceedings against the defences, public buildings, and Government vessels, until reparation should be made for the wrong done. "His Excellency's reply," says the Admiral, "was very unsatisfactory." On the following day the Bird's Nest and Shameen forts were taken, without any attempt at opposition; and preparations were made for the defence of the Factories, which were garrisoned: a body of American officers, seamen, and marines, provided for the interests of the American community.

On the 25th the Island and Fort of Dutch Folly were taken, and occupied without opposition. This act completed the series of operations, upon the efficacy of which the civil and military authorities had, to all appearance, confidently relied; but the result was as far from being attained as ever. The Admiral writes:—"14*th November* 1856.—All defence of the city being now in our hands, I considered the High Commissioner would see the necessity of submission; and I directed Mr Parkes to write and state, that when his Excellency should be prepared to arrange the points in dispute in a satisfactory manner, I would desist from further operations; but the reply did not answer my expectations." So far from anything like submission, it appears that "an attack was made at 12.30 by a body of troops, supported by a much larger force, which occupied the streets in rear. Mr Consul Parkes was on the spot at the time, and warned them to retire, but ineffectually. The guard of Royal Marines, in charge of Captain Penrose, then drove them back, with a loss, as we understand, of fourteen killed and wounded." The next day Yeh closed the Chinese Custom-House.

Such were the steps taken, and violent measures resorted to, in the vain attempt to induce the Imperial Commissioner to make the *amende honorable.* His power to resist even this trifling demand was now proved beyond a doubt. Our inability to enforce it had been no less unmistakably manifested; nevertheless another letter to Yeh was despatched on the 27th, by the Admiral, who thus alludes to it: "I concurred in opinion with Sir John Bowring, that this was a fitting opportunity for requiring the fulfilment of long-evaded treaty obligations, and I therefore, in addition to the original demands, instructed Mr Parkes to make the following communication." These additional demands involved the right for all foreign representatives of free access to the authorities and city of Canton. Hitherto the point at issue had been one simply of principle, and turned upon the right of the Chinese Government to seize a lorcha under certain conditions. It is just possible that even this stubborn functionary may have had his doubts on the subject, and been disposed to purchase peace and quietness at the price of so immaterial a concession. But now any momentary weakness, if it ever existed, was passed for ever. A grave question of policy had been raised—an old and much-vexed one, in the successful battling of which his predecessors had covered themselves with glory. Moreover, this sudden change of issue rouses the whole suspicious nature of the Chinaman, and he draws an inference somewhat discreditable to us, but not to be wondered at, which he thus expresses in a proclamation issued to the Cantonese:

"Whereas the English barbarians have commenced disturbances on a false pretence, their real object being admission into the city, the Governor-General, referring to the unanimous expression of objection to this measure on the part of the entire population of Canton in 1849, has flatly refused to concede this, and is determined not to grant their request, let them carry their feats and machinations to what length they will." Whereupon Yeh intrenches himself behind a triple mail of mandarinic pride and obstinacy, and retreats into the innermost recesses of his official dignity, from which we dug him out some fourteen months after. Meantime he does not condescend to answer the last letter, so at 1 P.M. his residence is bombarded. "The first shot was fired from the 10-inch pivot gun of the Encounter, and, at intervals of from five to ten minutes, the fire was kept up from that gun till sunset. The Barracouta, at the same time, shelled the troops on the hills behind Gough's Fort, in the rear of the city, from a position she had taken up in rear of Sulphur Creek." Under these circumstances, Yeh offered a reward of thirty dollars for the head of every Englishman.

The afternoon of the following day, from noon to sunset, was occupied in firing at slow time upon the houses opposite Dutch Folly, the inhabitants having been warned to evacuate them. The yamun of the Imperial Commissioner was distant about 150 yards from the river bank. By the afternoon of the 29th, a breach had been effected to this spot, which was visited by the Admiral, with a force of marines and blue-jackets. The Chinese offered some resistance, killing three and wounding eleven of our men. For the three following days desultory firing was kept up on the town, and much of the suburb was destroyed by fire, but not intentionally. On the 1st November the Admiral again addresses Yeh, who answers, defending himself, without receding. He was nevertheless responded to by the Admiral, and rejoined, in a letter, "recapitulating his former correspondence."

The Admiral accordingly recommences operations, pulls down some Chinese houses to secure the factory position, and bombards the public buildings steadily, but slowly, for several days consecutively, during which French Folly is taken, and twenty-three war-junks are destroyed by the Barracouta, with a loss of one killed and four wounded. Another communication is also made to the Commissioner, who seems to gain confidence from the frequency of these missives, for he answers curtly, and enters upon a vigorous course of retaliatory measures. Having neither armies or fleets to cope with ours, he makes war upon us in a desultory, irregular way, eminently harassing. Our ships in the river narrowly escape destruction from fire-rafts : night-attacks are made upon them ; passenger steamers are fired upon, and foreign vessels, indiscriminately. An incidental result is an insult to the American flag, which is fired on from the Barrier Forts, which had been re-armed. As a measure of retaliation, these are taken and destroyed by Commodore Armstrong, of the United States navy. Here the matter ends. Dr Parker thinks the insult offered to the flag has been sufficiently avenged, and shortly afterwards resumes correspondence with Yeh. The episode is interesting, as furnishing a contrast between our policy and that of the United States, under somewhat similar circumstances.

Meantime we demolish some of the Bogue Forts, and Howqua and other Canton notables address, and are answered by, Sir John Bowring and Admiral Seymour. On the 17th, Sir John Bowring arrives at Canton, and puts himself into communication with the Imperial Commissioner on the 18th. The Admiral (24th November 1856) states that he "reopened fire on the Government buildings in the Tartar City from the guns in the Dutch Folly, but ceased at noon, to allow time for a reply to a note sent in by Sir John Bowring, proposing an interview with the High Commissioner in the city; and his Excellency added, that, if it was granted, he was prepared to request me to cease hostilities. The reply was received the next day, declining the interview." The reward for barbarian heads was now raised from thirty to one hundred taels. On the 22d the French flag was struck at Canton.

On the 4th December, French Folly, having been reoccupied and strengthened by the Chinese, was retaken, with a loss of two killed and several wounded. On the following day a seaman and marine are cut off. A few shells are still occasionally thrown into the city, and, on the 14th, the Admiral states that he "feels a confident hope that the measures which have been taken will prove successful." The next day, Chinese incendiaries burn down the whole of the foreign factories. The Admiral writes (29th December 1856): "The great importance of holding our position at Canton being evident, and the church and barracks having been preserved, I determined to intrench a portion of the Factory gardens." On the 17th the Admiral commences to intrench himself accordingly, and garrisons the fortified position with a force of three hundred men.

Encouraged by this success, Yeh carries on the war, in his own peculiar fashion, with greater vigour than ever. On the 23d, Mr Cowper is kidnapped from Whampoa. On the 30th, the Thistle postal steamer is seized by the Chinese on board; eleven persons murdered, and their heads carried off. The Chinese gentry of the district opposite Hong-Kong interdict supplies being furnished to the colony. The magistrate of another district orders the servants to withdraw from foreign employ. Placards are issued interdicting trade, and promising rewards for heads. On the 4th January, the Chinese attack the ships about Macao Fort in force, and sink junks in one of the neighbouring passages; also nearly succeed in blowing up one of our ships with explosive machines. On the 12th, our position in the Factory Gardens having been threatened, we burn the suburbs right and left of the Factory site. During this operation, a party of the 59th, approaching the city-wall, is repulsed with loss. The Admiral (14th January 1857) at once decides upon retreating from his position in the Factory Gardens and Dutch Folly, and, falling back upon Bird's-nest Fort and Macao Fort, applies to his Excellency the Governor-General of India for the assistance of 5000 troops. He subsequently finds himself compelled to abandon Bird's-nest Fort (30th January 1857), which he had intended to hold as his advanced post, and, with-drawing the garrison he had placed there, retains only Macao Fort. It was even at one time in contemplation to evacuate the river entirely, and this was a course strongly urged upon the Admiral by some of his advisers. Fortunately, however, bolder counsels prevailed; and although the Chinese kept up a series of pertinacious and harassing attacks upon our garrison in Macao Fort, commanded then by the gallant but lamented Captain Bate, we suffered no further reverses at their hands. Meantime an attempt had just been made to poison the whole foreign community of Hong-Kong.

From this condensed account, some idea may be formed of the stage which war and diplomacy had reached in the south of China at the beginning of February 1857. But little change had taken place in either up to the time of our arrival there, about four months afterwards. The diplomacy remained in abeyance; the war was apparently being kept up upon very much the same principles on which it had been begun. The Chinese continued to kidnap, assassinate, seize steamers, and annoy us in sundry cunningly-devised methods. We continued to hunt them down in creeks, burn villages where outrages had been committed, and otherwise pay them out to the best of our ability—not, it must be confessed, in a manner calculated to increase their terror for our arms, or their respect for our civilisation. With the exception of the affair in the Fatshan Creek, no fighting of any consequence occurred.

It is not difficult to perceive how, under these circumstances, every month that passed by inspired Yeh with fresh confidence in his own resources, and, inasmuch as we never made a move in advance, with increased contempt for ours. Never before since the abolition of the old monopoly had Englishmen made so poor a figure in the eyes of the Chinese populace. If one went into a curiosity-shop at Hong-Kong, he was the object of the quiet irony of the sleek vendor of carved ivory behind the counter, who informed him that his choice collection was at Canton, and asked, "Why you no can come my shop Canton? allo same fore tim: my gotchie too muchee olo handser culio that side." The very urchins in the street considered a Briton a fit subject for "chaff," while their respectable parents took a mercenary view of his head. Hong-Kong was neither a safe nor agreeable abode in those days.

It was too late then to consider whether the Arrow had in the first instance been British or Chinese, or whether the claim for redress made eight months previously was just or unjust; nor did it seem to avail now to discuss the wisdom of the policy which had superadded a second and infinitely more obnoxious demand, just at the period when it seemed most hopeless that we should obtain even the first. It was small consolation to be told that we ought never to have abandoned the Factory position, and that a little sharp cannonading, instead of a shot every ten minutes, would have soon brought Yeh to his senses. These were professional questions, on which it would have been presumptuous to offer an opinion; but there was one conviction arising out of it all which irresistibly impressed itself upon the mind of every new-comer, and which was,—that a continuance of this state of matters would not only injure our colony, impair our prestige, embarrass us in our relations with neutral powers, and imperil our commerce at all the other ports of the Empire, but enhance materially the difficulties in the way of any negotiations which might be attempted directly with the Court of Pekin. It could hardly be expected or hoped, that while Yeh was waging a successful war with us in the Canton River, we could be treating upon favourable terms in the Peiho.

It so happened that other causes combined to give increased weight to these considerations: these will come to be noticed in their turn. Meantime I have thought it better, at the outset, to cast this brief retrospective glance over the events of the half-year preceding our arrival in China, partly in the hope that it may enable the reader to form some idea of the actual posture of affairs at that juncture, and partly because it may be presumed, that the insight which a review of these proceedings afforded, both as to the character of the people with whom he was about to deal, and the nature of the difficulties against which he would have to contend, was not lost upon Lord Elgin.

CHAPTER II.

APPOINTMENT AND DEPARTURE OF SPECIAL MISSION—OUTBREAK OF THE MUTINY IN INDIA—ARRIVAL AT SINGAPORE—ITS CHINESE POPULATION—CAUSES OF THEIR DISCONTENT—THEIR VALUE AS COLONISTS—TRIP TO THE MAINLAND—RESIDENCE OF THE TUMÂNGONG—WILD SPORTS OF THE MALAY PENINSULA—GAMBIER PLANTATIONS—LUXURIANT FOREST—THE VILLAGE OF TUBRAO—DEPREDATIONS OF TIGERS—GREAT INCREASE OF CULTIVATION—START ON A TIGER-HUNT—UNSUCCESSFUL RESULT—ARRIVAL AT JOHORE—MALAY HOUSES OF JOHORE—HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF JOHORE—A PICTURESQUE REPAST—RETURN TO SINGAPORE—ITS RAPID PROGRESS—ITS FUTURE.

In consequence of the unsatisfactory progress of affairs in the south of China, described in the last chapter, that country was favoured with a larger share of public interest in England during the spring of 1857 than had been accorded to it at any period for the last fifteen years. An expeditionary force of 5000 men, with a staff equipment calculated for a much larger army, and in every respect thoroughly complete, was on its way to the probable theatre of war. Generals and officers of high rank were leaving town by each successive mail. Not only had England determined to send out a Special High Commissioner, accredited as ambassador to the Court of Pekin, but

France, Russia, and America, had each declared their intention of improving the occasion, and despatching Plenipotentiaries Extraordinary to China. Thus everything conspired to induce the belief that the attention of the world was about to be concentrated on the Celestial Empire ; and it was not to be wondered at, that, though not present in London drawing-rooms, Yeh did in fact monopolise the honours of the earlier part of the season, or that the prospect of accompanying a special mission to the scene of his exploits, and, possibly, to the throne of his Imperial master, possessed attractions of a novel and striking character.

More fortunate than former embassies, we were saved the long sea-voyage, which must have had a tendency to damp the ardour of exploration ; and being consigned instead to the mercies of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, found ourselves, on the 9th of May 1857, rushing across the Desert in the first train which had ever carried passengers to the central station, enveloped in clouds of dust, and indulging in most sanguine anticipations of the future.*

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* The special mission was composed as follows :—His Excellency the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, K.T., High Commissioner; The Hon. F. W. A. Bruce, Secretary to the Mission ; Messrs Donald Cameron, George Fitz-Roy, H. B. Loch, and R. Morrison, Attachés ; Mr Laurence Oliphant, Private Secretary.

On the arrival of the mission in China, Mr T. F. Wade was attached as Chinese Secretary ; and in August, Dr M. K. Saunders, R.N., was attached as Medical Attendant. In March 1858, Mr H. N. Lay accompanied the mission to Tientsin as Assistant Chinese Secretary

How little could we imagine that a storm was at this moment bursting over the plains of Upper India which should rivet upon itself the concentrated and anxious gaze of the world, and which, in its swift and relentless course, seemed pregnant with consequences so disastrous and appalling, that all minor cares of state policy faded into insignificance, and became utterly absorbed in its one engrossing interest, just as passing squalls are overwhelmed and smothered in the impetuous fury of a typhoon.

It was not until we reached Galle that we received from General Ashburnham, who had just arrived from Bombay, and was on his way to the command-in-chief in China, the first intelligence of the serious aspect which matters had assumed in the north-west provinces of India, and of the spread of disaffection among the sepoy troops. Although the particulars of the dreadful tragedy which had taken place at Delhi and Meerut had not yet reached us, we heard enough to lead us to anticipate the probability of these occurrences affecting, in an important degree, the prospects of the mission to China.

General Ashburnham and his staff accompanied us to Singapore, whence they proceeded to China, whilst

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and Interpreter. In July, Mr Bruce proceeded to England in charge of the Treaty of Tientsin, and the Hon. N. Jocelyn arrived to replace Mr Cameron, who was promoted to a post in Europe. Mr Morrison also returned to England, and Mr Oliphant succeeded Mr Bruce as Acting Secretary to the mission. In September, Mr Loch went home on sick certificate, having also charge of the Japanese Treaty.

Lord Elgin disembarked here, and took up his residence with the Governor, to await the Shannon, the frigate placed by the Government at Lord Elgin's disposal, and the arrival of which was hourly expected. The importance of rendering the approach of an envoy invested with such extensive powers, as imposing as possible in the eyes of a nation notorious for attaching the highest significance to external pomp and ceremony, seemed more than sufficient to justify the delay of three weeks which was thus unavoidably incurred. Nor, under the circumstances, was the time misspent. A confirmation of the news we heard at Galle, together with the representations of Lord Canning, induced Lord Elgin to take upon himself the serious responsibility of diverting from their destination, the first instalment of the troops which soon after arrived at Singapore from the Mauritius on their way to China.

Other circumstances were not wanting to render our stay at Singapore full of interest at this juncture, and these were closely connected with the objects of the mission. A few weeks had scarcely elapsed since occurrences had taken place among the Chinese populations at Penang, Sarawak, and Singapore, which, from their simultaneity with one another, and with the treacherous attempt upon the lives of the British residents at Hong-Kong, induced the suspicion of an extended concerted action,—a suspicion which seemed to have amounted to certainty in the minds of the great majority of the English in these settlements, in whom a knowledge of the power and extent of the organisation of the Chinese secret societies, excited a not unnatural alarm, and whose minds were so deeply impressed, by old association and prejudice, with a fear of the cruelty and treachery of the Chinese, that they were apt to overlook other qualities in the character of that race, which, to an impartial observer, seemed effectually to neutralise these attributes.

In each of the instances above alluded to, local causes of irritation existed, apparently sufficient to account for the disturbances which ensued, without connecting them with the disputes at Canton. In Borneo, the immediate origin of the outbreak was a difference of opinion in a question of opium smuggling between Sir James Brooke and the Chinese, though for some time past these people had manifested an independent spirit, and a disposition to resist the laws which the Rajah—who had treated them perhaps with too much kindness and indulgence—saw fit to impose. That their animosity was confined to himself and his executive only, and involved no general principle of hostility to the British, was proved by the fact that they requested the Bishop to assume the reins of government. In the Straits settlement, the promulgation of some police regulations interfering with certain of their religious ceremonies and festivals, and the manner in which these were put into execution, roused their indignation ; though it is questionable whether, had the object of these ever been explained to them, they would not have recognised their expediency.

At present there is a population of 70,000 Chinamen in Singapore, and not a single European who understands their language. The consequence is, that, in the absence of any competent interpreter, they are generally ignorant of the designs of Government, and, regarding themselves still as Chinese subjects, are apt to place themselves in an antagonistic attitude whenever laws are passed affecting their peculiar customs. No effort is made to overcome a certain exclusiveness arising hence ; and this is fostered by the secret societies, which exercise an important moral influence upon the minds of all, but more particularly the ignorant portion of the population. Were Chinese themselves put into positions of authority under Government, and allowed to share to some extent in the duties and responsibilities of British citizens, which, intellectually speaking, they are quite competent to undertake,—the barrier which now exists between the two races would be partially removed, and the mutual distrust and suspicion engendered by our present system would in all probability quickly disappear. Nor is this mere speculation. We have fortunately in their own empire a perpetual proof before our eyes of that reverence for authority *when judiciously enforced*, which is one of their chief characteristics, and which has for so many centuries been the preservation of its union and one great source of its prosperity.

That the most active, industrious, and enterprising race in the Eastern world should be regarded as a source of weakness, rather than of strength to a community, implies, *primâ facie*, a certain degree of mismanagement. The Chinese who have been attracted to Singapore by its freedom from commercial restrictions, and advantages of position, have contributed to make it what it is, the most prosperous settlement in the East; and when we consider their extraordinary acquisitiveness and love of gain, we can hardly suppose that their sympathies with their brethren in China would be sufficiently powerful to induce them wantonly to interrupt a commerce, from which they derive enormous profits, and destroy a mercantile emporium which may be said to be in a great degree their own handiwork, and in which they possess a larger stake than any other class of its community.

To the stranger first arriving in Singapore, nothing can be more striking than the busy aspect which the place presents. Every street swarms with long tails and loose trousers; throughout whole sections of the town are red lintels of the door-posts covered with fantastic characters, which betoken a Chinese owner. At early dawn the incessant hammering, stitching, and cobblering commences, which lasts until nearly midnight; when huge paper lanterns, covered with strange devices, throw a subdued light over rows of half-naked yellow figures, all eagerly engaged in the legitimate process of acquiring dollars by the sweat of their brow. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of such a race, or to rate too highly the importance of placing them in such relations with the governing powers, by the cultivation of a more familiar intercourse, and a certain deference to their habits and prejudices, as should render them contented and trustworthy, as well as profitable, members of society.

I was fortunate enough to have a further opportunity of observing the energy and enterprise of these people, in a short trip which I made to the mainland, in company with Mr Cameron and Captain Scott, at the invitation of the son of the Tumângong of Johore, who is now the ruler of that Malay State. The latter is the son of the man who claimed the independent rule of the territory, in which, at the time of our purchase of Singapore, the island was situated. This claim was disputed by the then Sultan of Johore. The Tumângong, however, was supported by the British Government, which entered into a treaty with him and the Sultan of Johore, by which it was agreed, that the rights of the Tumângong to the government should be recognised, upon payment by him to the Sultan of a certain annual pension. Both these dignitaries now reside in Singapore, and the Tumângong or his son only occasionally visit their possessions on the mainland. In the latter we found a most hospitable and amiable entertainer.

The protracted festivities consequent on a ball given in Lord Elgin's honour by the mercantile community, rendered our departure rather later on the morning of the 13th June than we had intended. At last, however, our host, to whom such gaiety was unusual, appeared with a very roomy dog-cart, in which we packed away ourselves and our guns. Our road intersected the island, here about fourteen miles across, first passing between well-trimmed hedges of graceful bamboo, through plantations of nutmegs, that clothe the numerous swelling knolls with which the country round the town is pleasantly diversified, and the summits of most of which are crowned with the handsome bungalows of the English and German residents. About half-way we pass Bakit-timah, the highest hill in the island, and which, though only 500 feet above the sea-level, enjoys a climate so superior to that of the town of Singapore that it is talked of as a sanitarium for troops. The country generally is pretty well cultivated ; there are two or three sugar plantations, but the cultivation is not sufficiently remunerative to induce extended speculation. Gambier (*uncaria gambir*) and pepper are more profitable; and we pass through occasional plantations of these on our way to Kranji, whence we were to cross the strait which separates the island from the main.

We had some difficulty in embarking on board the two sampans, or Malay boats, which we found waiting for us here, anchored at a distance from the sloping muddy bank, and which soon transported us to the opposite shore, whence we ascended to the comfortable bungalow of the Tumângong. Situated upon the summit of a cleared hill, it commands a beautiful view of the narrow straits and swelling shores, clothed in the richest verdure to the water's edge. At the foot of the hill the village of Sicudai, built and inhabited entirely by Chinese emigrants within the last few years, is perched on piles, which extend some yards from the shore.

We found a sumptuous repast prepared for us in European style in the bungalow, which answers the double purpose of a residence for the Tumângong and a court-house for his subjects. At this point the Sicudai River enters the straits; and upon its banks a large number of pepper and gambier plantations have been lately opened by the Chinese: it flows round the base of the mountain of Gunung Pulai, which rises to a height of about 3000 feet above the sea-level, and which the Tumângong has consented to allow the Government to make use of as a sanitarium—an offer of which we have not as yet been sensible enough to avail ourselves. Easy of access, either by land or water, from Singapore, it would be a most agreeable resort for the European part of the population during the hottest months; and a road from hence might be cut across the country to Malacca, distant about 70 miles, which, while it would open up to Chinese enterprise an almost unknown district, would form a valuable means of communication between our own settlements.

At present the principal attraction which Gunung Pulai and its neighbourhood offer, are the wild animals which are found in those rarely trodden forests. The sportsman who has exhausted every variety of game to be found in the jungles of India, will derive a fresh excitement here in hunting the rhinoceros, or watching for the wary tapir; while on the muddy banks of sluggish rivers he may surprise the sâladang or wild ox, a species peculiar to the forests of the Malay peninsula, and which has not yet been described by naturalists. From the accounts we received, the elephant-shooting seems to be inferior to that in Ceylon; whilst, although the jungles literally swarm with tigers, a shickar, in the Indian sense of the term, is unknown. Our time, however, did not admit of any exploration in this direction; we therefore followed the advice of the host, who proposed visiting a large and prosperous village upon a neighbouring river. Re-embarking in our sampans, we coasted for some miles along the northern shore of the straits. Generally, they are not above a mile broad, and in some parts they narrow to little more than three furlongs, so that we could scarcely realise, as we glided between their wooded banks, that this was not a river, but the only passage which at one time was known into the China Seas, through which, for near two centuries, Portuguese and Dutch galleons had passed, freighted with the rich merchandise of the East.

In the afternoon we entered the mouth of a considerable river, which we ascended for two hours, when we left the boats, and started on foot for the village of Tubrao, while our sampans proceeded to the same place, following the circuitous windings of the river. Our path led us through plantations of pepper and gambier, separated by broad belts of heavy jungle; winding between tall columns of leaves, where the pepper vine, trained like the hop, completely concealed with its rich luxuriance the slender poles that supported it. Sometimes we forced our way through thick bushes of the Gambier, in the midst of which the thatched cottages of the cultivators are buried: if we observe a thick smoke issue from one of these, and enter to satisfy our curiosity, we find a group of Chinamen collected like witches round a caldron, in which are bubbling and boiling bushels of gambier leaves. As soon as the juice is inspissated and boiled to the consistence of a syrup, it is poured into moulds, and when dry cut into cakes, having very much the appearance of pieces of light-coloured Indian-rubber. The refuse leaves are thrown into a large canoe-shaped trough, which projects over the caldron, and carried away to the pepper-plantations for manure. The leaves are pulled three or four times a-year, and in fifteen years a plantation becomes exhausted. Mr Crawfurd says: "Gambier contains from 40 to 50 per cent of pure tannin, and hence it has been of late years largely imported into Europe, to be used in the purposes of dyeing and tanning; the quantity imported yearly into England being not less than 6000 tons."

It is a relief to escape from the slanting rays of the sinking sun, and dive into the dark recesses of the forest, where tall limbless trees rise to a gigantic height, and weave their topmost branches into an impenetrable shade; whilst orchids, five or six feet in diameter, cling like huge excrescences to the leafy roof. It is singular, that though upwards of two hundred species of timber have been collected, most of them of great height and growth, not above half-a-dozen are really valuable ; among them are the ebony, sapan, and eagle wood, but more valuable than all, the gutta-percha. The Tumângong told us that he had prohibited the sale of this important article of commerce for the present, as the accessible parts of the forest had been cleared of nearly all the old trees. The price of the commodity has been recently very much increased in consequence. Among the palms we observed the nibung, nipa, and areka, whilst bamboos waved gracefully over us, rivalled only by the tree-fern ; and conspicuous among the dense underwood, the rattan reared its tufted crown. Occasionally troops of monkeys noisily swung themselves from branch to branch overhead, and birds of gaudy plumage glanced across our path.

The village of Tubrao was situated on the banks of the river, and surrounded by plantations, and we no sooner made our appearance in the narrow street than the whole population turned out to inspect us, so unusual was the sight of a visitor to that sequestered spot. We held a sort of levee in the house of the old Chinaman, who officiated in the capacity of Patriarch to the community. It was a quaint, rambling wooden tenement of one story, with a broad deep verandah supported by carved pillars, and large empty apartments like audience-halls used as carpenters' shops, or bedrooms, or courts, as the occasion might arise, and hung over with the usual gigantic paper lanterns. We seated ourselves in the verandah, and were regaled with disagreeable preparations of betel, in which I observed, as a principal ingredient, gambier, unknown as a condiment among the betel-chewers of Ceylon. Having done due honour to this mark of attention by filling our mouths with its crimson juice, we were glad to wash them out with some delicious tea, served to us in small China cups, together with divers descriptions of sweetmeats.

Meanwhile we were entertained by numerous eager narrators, with wonderful accounts of the depredations which the tigers had recently committed in the neighbouring plantations, and which surpassed all former experiences of a similar character. They pointed out to us among the crowd which surrounded us, the occupants of no fewer than twenty plantations, who had deserted their cottages through fear of these daring and ferocious animals, and taken refuge in the village. Out of the comparatively small population, upwards of fifty Chinamen had been carried off during the preceding three weeks. On one day alone five had disappeared, and when we visited their burial-ground, and observed the number of graves, with umbrellas over them to mark that the bones of the occupants had been found and laid there, after they had been picked by the tigers, we were convinced that this was no exaggerated statement. Upwards of 10,000 piculs, or about £15,000 worth of pepper, had been, in consequence, left upon the trees, dread of the tigers predominating in the breasts of the owners over love of their property.

As we had brought some rifles with us, we informed our entertainers that we should be delighted to undertake a campaign against these savage enemies, if they could hold out any prospect of success. The proposition was received with unanimous applause, but it was clear that no one had the slightest notion of how it was to be executed. We offered to wait until the following day, and have a regular battue, if they would beat the jungle with drums and fireworks. This, however, was a mode of procedure to which they entirely objected ; and this I secretly did not regret, as a previous experience in India had taught me the danger of tiger-shooting on foot ; so we then suggested that we should proceed, a little before the moon rose, to a deserted plantation, and watch a bait. This was more readily agreed to, and the whole crowd instantly dispersed, and instituted a vigorous crusade against the dogs of the village. The process of securing these was in the highest degree ludicrous ; the screams of the Chinamen mingled with the yells of their unfortunate victims, who seemed to have a presentiment of the fate which awaited them, and avenged themselves on the fat calves of their persecutors. At last, after a degree of noise and excitement, sufficient to have secured as many wolves, two luckless curs were brought to us, and hung by the legs over a balustrade. We protested against this inhuman treatment, and they were in consequence transferred to an oblong basket.

We dined in a picturesque cottage, built upon piles over the river, and could see through the crevices of the floor the sampans moored beneath, and the current gently rippling past ; a rustic foot-bridge spanned the stream, and massive foliage drooped into the water.

Scene on the Tubrao River (Malay Peninsula.)

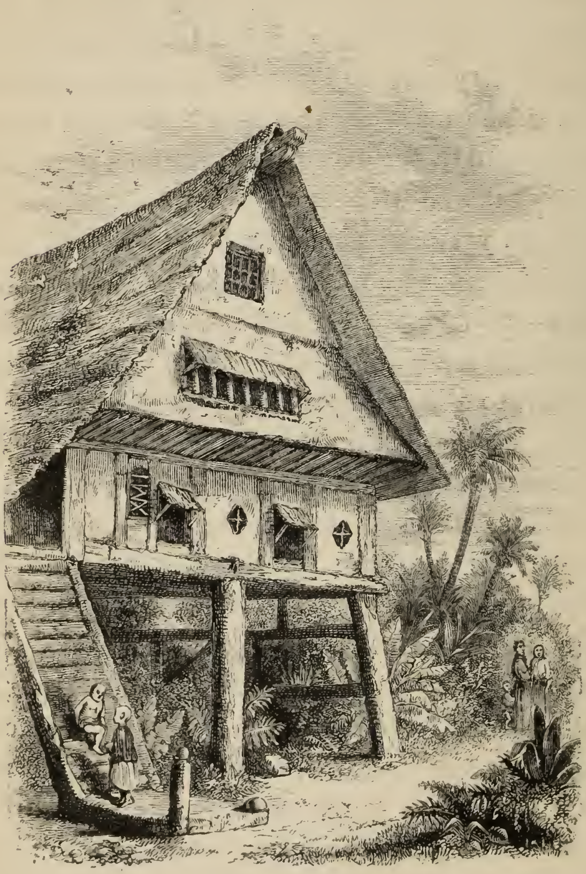
A few large trading-boats gave token of some mercantile activity even in this remote corner of Asia, and we were surprised to hear how recently the process of opening up the neighbouring country, and the creation of commerce consequent upon it, had commenced. Ten years ago, the banks of this river were almost unexplored ; now the produce of 180 plantations was transported down its waters. Some notion of the extent of the Chinese population may be gathered from the consumption of opium. The Tumângong received 22½ per cent upon the monthly sales of opium from the farmer of the license. His monthly revenue derived from this source amounted to 13,000 rupees. He also received a ground-rent of one dollar a-month for every plantation of whatever description of cultivation, beginning from the commencement of the third year of its existence. There are now about 2000 plantations in the entire district of Johore paying this rent, and the number is steadily increasing. They are almost without exception the property of Chinese emigrants. It is to be regretted that the cultivators are not permanent occupants. Until, however, Chinamen can be induced to bring their wives into foreign countries, the community to which they migrate only derives half the advantage which would accrue, were permanent ties created which should bind to the soil a race so eminently qualified for its development.

Our repast over, we sallied forth, an uncouth procession. A number of Malays led the way, and flourished their long spears, the handles of which were Malacca canes, with broad blades attached to them. Then we followed, surrounded by numerous torch-bearers, whilst the great part of the village population brought up the rear, the basket containing our canine victims being slung between two Chinamen. After stumbling in darkness through sundry plantations, we at last arrived at the cottage said to be deserted, in which we were to take up our station. To our disgust, we no sooner approached it than we were greeted with the barking of dogs, and the shouts of men, who appeared as much astonished and dismayed at our nocturnal invasion as if we had been tigers ourselves. They informed us that ten days had elapsed since three of their number had been carried off. The two remaining had then left the plantation in a panic, but had lately returned, and had not been troubled with any new intimation of the proximity of their enemies. Nor could they tell us at which plantation our efforts would be most likely to meet with success, or even where we should be sure to find one deserted. As it now began to rain heavily, and the sky was so overcast as to render the prospect of a bright moon more than doubtful, we determined reluctantly to return to our boats, which we no sooner reached than we urged upon the Tumângong the expediency of proceeding at once upon our journey.

Meantime admirable beds were made up for us on the bottom of our boat under the pentroof of palm leaves, which serves effectually to protect the voyager in a sampan against the mid-day sun, or the dews of night; beneath this we stretched our weary limbs, while with sturdy stroke our Malay crew propelled our light craft rapidly down stream.

Morning found us sailing with a light favourable breeze through the straits, and we soon reached the eastern outlet. Here, on the extreme point of the island, at a spot called Shangy, from whence a good road has been made to Singapore, we landed to breakfast. The straits at this point are divided by the island of Pulo Obin, upon which some valuable granite quarries are situated. Rounding this island, we shortly after entered a broad river, or rather firth, and sailed for about twenty miles between banks which were heavily timbered, and backed by an undulating country, but we looked in vain for some signs of life. The magnificent virgin forest has not yet been touched by the axes of men anxious to replace it by a profitable cultivation; nor has the broad bosom of the stream yet been ploughed by the keels of native craft, freighted with all the varied produce which the soil is so well adapted to yield, and which possesses the additional advantage of being in close proximity, by water, to a large and ready market.

There can be little doubt, however, that ere long the face of nature here too will be changed by the industrious hand of the Chinese. Our host told us that higher up the river they had begun to open plantations, while he derived a considerable revenue from a tin mine some few miles above Johore. This town is situated upon the left bank of the river, here about four miles broad,—a few Malay houses standing in the river upon piles, and a few more hidden in a thick grove of cocoa-nut trees, are all that now represent the former capital of the state, and residence of its Sultan. The desolation which surrounded it did not lead us to expect much in the town itself, but we were hardly prepared to find only a miserable village, containing scarce a thousand inhabitants. Still it was interesting to visit, as differing from those Chinese villages which are now dotting the coast and creeks of the mainland. The houses looked more substantial, and had a more distinctive character. Some of them were three stories high, with windows usually in the gables, latticed and



Native House at Johore (Malay Peninsula.)

set in quaintly carved frames ; and out of these occasionally protruded the naked figures of wondering children, or the half-concealed countenances of inquisitive females. The thatch is made of a broad leaf, called the jolong-jolong, screens of which also project over the windows. The sides are sometimes formed of the same material ; sometimes, in the better class of houses, of wooden panels. Whether on land or water the house is invariably built on piles some twelve feet high, and the first story is reached by a ladder. The only object of such an arrangement on land must be to serve as a protection from wild beasts.

There are no historical associations of any importance connected with Johore ; indeed it is a town of comparatively recent date, having only been founded by the Malays in 1512, after their expulsion from Malacca by the Portuguese in the previous year. According to Mr Crawfurd, from that period until 1810 there reigned in Johore fourteen princes, giving an average duration of twenty-one years to each reign. The prince who died in the last of these years left two sons, who disputed the succession. It suited the policy of the English and Dutch governments to take each one of the rivals as its protegé, and hence the cession of Singapore to the first, and of the island of Bintang to the last. Both princes are now pensioners, the protegé of the English claiming sovereignty over the countries north of the straits of Singapore, and he of the Dutch, those to the south of it, as laid down by the Convention of London of 1824.

We strolled into the interior with our guns, in hopes of seeing game, but the jungle was impenetrable; and although the marks of large game were numerous, wood-pigeons and squirrels were the only signs of life visible. Then evening closed in, and the sun, ere it finally sank, polished the smooth surface of the river till it looked like a sheet of burnished copper; and numbers of flying foxes (*Pteropus Javanicus*) awoke to the duties of the night, and flapped lazily overhead on their way to the gardens of the village. We amused ourselves firing at them as they sailed overhead like giant and plethoric rooks going to roost; but they were usually too high up, and we only saw one tumbled headlong into a grove of cocoa-nut trees, where, however, it was too dark to find him.

Meantime a busy group was assembled round a collection of pots and kettles, which began to possess a strong interest in our eyes. Our host had pointed out to us where the palace of his ancestors had once stood, but at the same time informed us that he possessed no habitation of his own at the former seat of his government, so he had determined to give us an *al-fresco* dinner, rather than invite us into a native house, an arrangement we thoroughly agreed in; and the growing darkness was soon illuminated with the glare of torches made of damar put into cocoa-nut husks, which flashed luridly upon the tall limbless stems of the trees, and upon dark figures cowering over cooking fires, or hurrying about with water and the preparatives of dinner. A rude table of boards had been hastily improvised, and, in feeble rivalry to the surrounding blaze, was lighted by the subdued glimmer of a civilised reading-lamp. A handsome service of China, finger-glasses, damask napkins, and all the appurtenances of an elaborately appointed table, contrasted strangely with the rude figures and uncouth forms which waited on us; for a large portion of the population were in attendance, and added to the novel and picturesque effect of our picnic. Our well-cooked dinner was accompanied by draughts of deliciously cool cocoa-nut water fresh from the trees above us, whose branches were closely intertwined overhead,

> "A verdurous woof,
> A hanging dome of leaves, a canopy moon-proof."

We quitted with reluctance the scene of our rural festivities, and once more in our sampans swept down the smooth current of the river in the calm moonlight, our crew beguiling the way with shrill unmelodious boat-songs, in which screaming choruses and sudden spasmodic refrains were strangely intermingled with long piercing whistles and yells. In spite, however, of their antisoporific effect, these unearthly noises soon mingled in our dreams, and we only woke to consciousness to find ourselves in broad daylight, coasting along the south-eastern shore of the island of Singapore, and, after a prosperous voyage of twelve hours, reached the town.

Though our expedition had necessarily been limited, it had been sufficient to enable us to appreciate, on our return to Singapore, the strong contrast which the British settlement exhibits to the native territory. Forty years have not elapsed since the condition of our island was the same as that of the mainland. It then contained only the huts of a few Malay fishermen. Already a hundred thousand souls occupy an area scarcely greater than that of the Isle of Wight; the forest is everywhere giving place to plantations of nutmeg and gambier; whole suburbs are springing up in the neighbourhood of the town as if by magic; its capacious roads are filled with ships of every nation; its revenue, already exceeding 600,000 rupees, increased in 1856 by about a fifth of that sum, so that not only does it pay its own local expenses, but combines with the other Straits settlements to maintain a body of 3800 convicts, and to contribute nearly a lakh and a half of rupees towards the payment of the military force from Madras forming the garrison. Such progress—the natural growth of an American town, and surpassed even by some of our own colonies—is unprecedented in the annals of the East India Company's possessions, and is worthy, on that account, if on no other, of a higher consideration than it has received.

The future of Singapore is but faintly shadowed forth by its past history. That it is destined to hold the highest position amongst eastern emporia seems inevitable; but the speedy arrival of so desirable a consummation depends upon its administration. Already its growth has been checked by a system which has, upon the continent of India, proved itself ill-suited for the development of internal resources and the rapid extension of trade; but here are conditions differing from those of any other portion of the late Company's dominions. In addition to the large and daily-increasing Anglo-Saxon mercantile community, a continual influx of Chinese emigrants here compose the great majority of the inhabitants.

It may generally be said that, with few exceptions, whatever product of the Malay or Philippine archipelago demands skill and industry in its production is the result of Chinese labour. Without Chinese labour neither the Malay nor Philippine archipelago, nor Siam nor Cochin-China, would have sugar or tin for their exportation. Of the first they are the sole producers; of the latter they produce about 8000 tons. Hence it will appear that at Singapore there is no apathetic population indigenous to the soil to be nursed, but one composed of the two most industrious and enterprising races in the world, and who are quite competent to appreciate the advantages of a more progressive system of government. When an altered state of commercial relations with China shall have opened that vast field to European enterprise—when the trade with Siam, created by the recent treaty, and already rapidly growing, has become more fully developed—when, under the skilful administration of its European rulers, the resources of a large portion of Borneo find their way into the English market—when the Malay peninsula, extensively peopled by industrious Chinese, furnishes its important and valuable produce—when, in fact, from these and other sources, the whole trade of the East has increased tenfold—it will be found that the importance of Singapore has not been overestimated. In the mean time, we may be permitted to hope that those changes which have taken place in the administration of that eastern Empire of which Singapore forms a portion, may exercise a beneficial influence upon this valuable commercial emporium.

Malay Sampan.

CHAPTER III.

ARRIVAL AT HONG-KONG—TRIP UP THE CANTON RIVER—A COMPLICATED INTERNATIONAL QUESTION — CHUENPEE — MONSTER CANNON—APATHY OF POPULATION—MACAO FORT—UNHEALTHINESS OF THE RIVER—SPREAD OF THE MUTINY—ITS INFLUENCE ON LORD ELGIN'S POLICY—RETURN TO SINGAPORE—ADDRESS OF MERCANTILE COMMUNITY—ARRIVAL AT CALCUTTA—SENSATION CREATED—MORAL EFFECT PRODUCED ON THE NATIVES.

We had scarcely been a week at Singapore before our anxieties were relieved on the score of the speedy continuance of our journey, by the arrival of the magnificent frigate which had been placed by the Government at the disposal of Lord Elgin. The Shannon had made a remarkably quick passage from England, under the energetic command of the gallant Captain Peel; and we congratulated ourselves on the favourable auspices under which our first experiences of the Celestial Empire seemed destined to be made.

A further delay of a few days was, however, involved, as Lord Elgin had determined not to leave Singapore until the most ample and complete arrangements had been made for the speedy transmission of the Chinese expeditionary force to India. With this view, vessels were sent to the Straits of

Anjier, to divert from that point the transports conveying the 90th and 82d Regiments, so as to avoid the unnecessary detour through the Malacca Straits. Meantime the Simoom had arrived with the 5th Fusileers, and was immediately despatched to Calcutta. On the 23d June we bade adieu to Singapore, not without regret, as, in spite of the shortness of our visit, the community had contrived to render our stay there so agreeable, that the favourable impression we then formed was not afterwards effaced by any of our subsequent experiences in the East.

The prevalence of the south-west monsoon, and the admirable sailing qualities of the Shannon, enabled us to dispense almost entirely with steam on our voyage up the China Sea; and on the evening of the ninth day after leaving Singapore, we thundered forth a noisy intimation of our arrival to the inhabitants of Hong-Kong.

On the 6th July, Lord Elgin landed under a general salute, and proceeded to Government House for the purpose of holding a levee, and going through those official formalities incidental to his entry on the sphere of his future labours. As, however, in consequence of the Fatshan Creek affair, and other events which had recently occurred up the Canton River, the scene of our present operations there was invested with so much interest, Mr Loch and I took advantage of the departure of H. M. S. Inflexible for Macao Fort on the day following, for the purpose of collecting information with as little delay as possible.

The scenery in the immediate neighbourhood of Hong-Kong, and for the first eight or ten miles after leaving it, is not unlike that of the Western Highlands of Scotland. We dexterously steered between high grassy islands, round sharp corners, past little hamlets at the end of secluded bays, and through narrow devious channels, till at last we might fancy ourselves threading the Kyles of Bute, instead of the Capshui-Moon, or straits which separate the island of Lantao from the main. From it we emerge upon the Bay of Lintin.

We can hardly consider ourselves upon the Pearl River (as the Canton River is properly called) until we reach Chuenpee; for here the opposite coast is not visible, and the white sails of innumerable junks dot the horizon—each high-sterned craft a matter of curious speculation to every naval officer who sees her, and who, in the condition in which our diplomatic relations with the Empire then were, is thrown into a state of profound perplexity as to whether she is his lawful prize or not: he finds himself at once entangled in a maze of knotty points, involving intricate questions of international law, upon which he is called to decide on the spot. She may be a smuggler in British interests, in which case he is to let her pass; or a peaceful trader in American interests, taking up charcoal and saltpetre for gunpowder to be exploded against us, in which case he is not to let her pass; or a peaceful trader in purely Chinese interests, and as such to be respected; or a purely Chinese smuggler, when her capture is optional; or a regular out-and-out pirate, when it is advisable; or a merchantman, but suspiciously well-armed, when it is discretionary; or a mandarin (man-of-war) junk in the disguise of a merchantman, when it is imperative. Under these complicated circumstances, the simple plan of proceeding manifestly is, to make a prize of the junk, and settle afterwards whether she is pirate, trader, snake-boat, mandarin-boat, smuggler, or fast-boat, together with the law that applies to her.

Formerly boats had been allowed to go up armed, but not to come down; but recently a system of passes had been introduced, which only served to render matters more complicated. Meantime trifling affrays were daily occurring, reflecting but little glory on those engaged,—injuring our prestige with the Chinese, but yet rendered inevitable by the anomalous condition in which our relations stood, with reference not only to China, but to other nations engaged in carrying on commercial operations with her. Notwithstanding this species of constant irritation which was kept up on the river, our ships maintained the most amicable intercourse with the inhabitants on the banks, who supplied them with meat and vegetables: indeed, each ship had usually a bumboat specially attached.

In about four hours we reached Chuenpee, and, in spite of the heat, scrambled to the top of the hill, from where we had a magnificent view of the surrounding country, out of which rise the naked hills, washed bare by violent tropical rains, so that the beauty of their slopes may be said to have been sacrificed by nature to fertilise the rich alluvial plains at their base. In the distance was the walled town of Hoomanchai, celebrated for the signing of the supplementary treaty. The creek by which it was approached was staked across as a means of defence.

Though of comparatively a trifling elevation, the little barrack at the top of the Chuenpee Hill answered the purpose of a sanitarium. The fort was held at this time by 130 men and one small gun. Some monstrous cast-iron Chinese cannon, weighing 5 tons each, measuring about 13 feet in length, and of a calibre larger than a 95 cwt., had been buried by the Chinese without ever having been fired, and were now being exhumed.

At Chuenpee we met Commodore Keppel and Sir Robert Maclure, and accompanied them to the Bogue; upon this occasion taking but a hurried view of those forts already so celebrated in the history of our Chinese wars, and with which we were destined to become much better acquainted. A little beyond them we passed a creek in which the Esk's boats had been engaged the day before, and had succeeded in capturing a snake-boat, which we saw, though with a loss of three men killed and seven wounded.

After passing the Bogue we are fairly in the river, and the navigation begins to be impeded by shoals. At the second of these is a Pagoda, known as Second

Bar Pagoda; then we turn off to the left into Blenheim Passage, along which, at the period of our visit, junks were not allowed to pass. Though these waters were exclusively traversed by our men-of-war, the agricultural population little heeded the puffing of the numerous steamers which were constantly engaged in keeping up the communication between Macao Fort and the other ships stationed on the river; and though rarely a day passed without the sound of a distant cannonade falling upon their ears, they had become accustomed to the strife by which they were surrounded, and worked as busily in their paddy-fields as though Fatshan were a myth, Canton in another world, and British gunboats a necessary condition of their existence.

It was our first introduction to Chinese scenery: numerous villages dotted the river banks, some of them utterly destroyed and depopulated, either by rebels or ourselves; others densely crowded among trees, the most conspicuous object being the high square tower with massive loopholed walls, rising in proud eminence above the surrounding roofs, indicative not of some old feudal baron, who, secure in his stronghold, holds the lives of his vassals in pawn for their good behaviour, but,—significant of the character of the race,—of some old usurer who needs a fortress for the preservation of sundry goods and chattels which he holds in pawn for the credit of his victims. The number of these pawnbroking towers inspires one with rather a low estimate of the solvency of the community. Then there are tall red poles, scattered in pairs among the villages, betokening a joss-house, or the residence of a mandarin. The carved gables of the better class of houses project above the other roofs like gigantic gravestones, while the graves themselves resemble the mouths of large wells.

Here and there a hill is crowned by a tall pagoda, while lesser pentagonal towers, four or five stories high, with pointed roofs, rise above the trees like those of churches. At the base of barren hills are charming wooded nooks, which look all the greener and fresher by the contrast, while an active population is swarming everywhere; men are fishing in tiny punts on the river; women are patching up the basket screens which retain the mud of the paddy-fields on the banks, or wading about in the mud looking for something; coolies are traversing with swinging gait the ridges of the fields, heavily loaded; while under the shade of the spreading branches of the giant *Ficus Indicus*, or at the doors of joss-houses, motley groups are collected, gazing at us as we sweep past.

We found the Fury and Highflyer the advanced ships, and transferring ourselves here into a gunboat, proceeded towards Macao Fort, past the boom which had been stretched across the river by the Chinese, close to the entry up the Fatshan Creek. The Fort, so gallantly stormed by Commodore Elliot, was distinctly visible. Macao Fort is distant about three miles from Canton; situated on a little island nearly in mid stream, it occupies a favourable position as an advanced post; though with a more active enemy the small garrison could never have maintained themselves there, as they did, for a year. The present force consisted of 160 men, and the Fort mounted 14 guns. From the top of the tower, which was used as an hospital, we had a good view of Canton and the White Cloud Mountains in rear, on which sundry white tents betokened the presence of troops.

Macao Fort (Canton River.)

The garrison was composed of men from the Raleigh, and seemed to pass an existence in which the hardships of war were not altogether untempered by the refinements of civilisation. The admirable band belonging to the "late" frigate, played some elaborate pieces with great execution, while we discussed *patés de fois gras* and champagne, seated, it is true, on upturned boxes and round a table of primitive manufacture, while our sideboard had apparently done duty at some former period as the altar of a joss-house. As habiliments were scarce, the costume of the sentry exhibited a pleasing mixture of John Chinaman and Jack Tar.

A good deal knocked up ourselves by our day's labours, we could not but sympathise with the naval forces stationed along the whole length of the river, at so unhealthy a season of the year. The thermometer was standing at 102° under the shade of the awning on board the Esk; and it was not to be wondered at that, under the combined influence of sun and miasma, one vessel alone, out of a small complement of 130 men in perfect health, should have put 60 on the sick-list in the short space of three weeks. Under these circumstances we were not tempted to linger up the river longer than was absolutely necessary, though the change to Hong-Kong, which we reached on the following day, was only tolerable by contrast.

A few days after our return to Hong-Kong news arrived, the serious nature of which increased, if possible, the already existing complications of the position in which Lord Elgin found himself placed on his arrival in China. The prolonged resistance at Delhi, the rapid spread of the rebellion into the lower provinces of Bengal, and the urgent representations of Lord Canning of the exigencies of the situation, not only deprived the Ambassador of any hope of saving any part of the China force from the vortex into which they were being swallowed by the inexorable necessities of India, but rendered it extremely improbable that they could ever be made available for the objects for which they were originally designed. His only consolation was that he had appreciated the true position of affairs in India at a sufficiently early date, to enable him to divert the troops to that country at the most critical period of its fortunes. But the difficulties of the situation in China had been immeasurably enhanced by the sacrifice.

It was clear that any attempt to negotiate in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital of the empire, unaccompanied by any force, must depend very much for success upon the moral effect created by the aspect of affairs in the south. The presence of an army at Hong-Kong might have sufficed to produce this, but not only was our force there contemptible, but our naval operations had resulted in failure. Yeh had vindicated the policy of his treatment of the barbarians, and triumphal arches had been erected to commemorate his success; while, to import a new set of considerations into the question, Baron Gros was not expected to arrive in China for some months.

Under these circumstances, only three other courses remained open, either to take Canton, to remain inactive at Hong-Kong, or to leave the country until the diplomatic questions at issue there could be approached under different and more favourable auspices. The season of the year, and the weakness of the force to be employed, rendered the capture and occupation of Canton impossible in the opinion of the Commanders-in-chief. A residence, involving total inaction, at Hong-Kong, was calculated to injure the prestige of the mission, while it was attended with no one single advantage.

On the other hand, this evil was avoided by an immediate departure, while in choosing Calcutta as his destination, and taking with him as many marines as could be spared from the river, Lord Elgin adopted a course which enabled him not only to satisfy himself as to the probable fate of the original China force, and to judge of the possibility and expediency of supplying their place, as was subsequently done, with quasi-mutinous Bengal regiments, but to bring a moral and material support to Lord Canning at a moment when it seemed probable that the safety of Calcutta itself was menaced. Indeed, so urgent appeared the exigencies of the case, that Lord Elgin even then determined to give up the Shannon to the Indian Government, if Captain Peel considered that the organisation of a naval brigade to operate in the provinces of Upper Bengal was a feasible scheme. That officer expressed no hesitation on the subject, and the high reputation which he had already earned in a similar service in the Crimea, operated as an additional inducement with Lord Elgin to proceed with him to Calcutta. This resolution was no sooner formed than acted upon, and within thirty-six hours after the Indian intelligence was received, the Shannon was once more ploughing her way over the China Sea, accompanied by the Pearl, whose assistance was required for the conveyance of the troops.

The following address, presented to Lord Elgin by the merchants of Singapore on his arrival there, was satisfactory to his Excellency, as proving that the course he was then adopting carried with it the approbation of a community whose most important interests were at stake both in India and China :—

"To his Excellency the Right Hon. the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, K.T., Her Majesty's High Commissioner and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Pekin.

"Singapore, *July* 20, 1857.

"My Lord,—We, the undersigned mercantile firms and others interested in the trade of Singapore, are induced by a consideration of the serious aspect of affairs in India, and of the important bearing which it must have upon those questions which it was the object of your Excellency's mission to settle in China, to present this address to your Lordship, believing that at this critical juncture, when complications have arisen involving such grave interests in both countries, it will be gratifying to your Excellency to know that the mercantile community of Singapore, although closely connected in trade with China, and anxiously desirous for the speedy and satisfactory resumption of commercial relations with Canton, have nevertheless cordially concurred in the resolution which your Excellency has taken, of diverting the China expeditionary army from its destination, to the assistance of the European force now engaged in the defence of our Indian possessions. The decided step which your Lordship has so promptly taken of following that army yourself, has afforded us the most lively satisfaction. Its absence from the sphere of its operations in China, and the uncertainty attending the period of its ultimate despatch to that country, would, in our opinion, have rendered your stay there comparatively useless, more particularly as the extent of our naval force is amply sufficient for the protection of trade and the maintenance of the *status quo* until your Lordship's return.

"On the other hand, we feel that the magnitude of the stake in India, and the fearful nature of the crisis which is now impending there, supersede all other considerations.

"We believe that the arrival of your Lordship at Calcutta in this emergency, will be of the greatest advantage in producing an important moral effect throughout India, and in affording the Governor-General most valuable support.

"At the same time we sincerely trust that the progress of events in India may shortly assume such a character as will enable your Lordship to return to the original field of your labours under more favourable auspices.

"We have, &c.,

(Signed) "A. L. JOHNSTON, & CO.
and twenty-seven others."

The awful intelligence of the massacre of Cawnpore reached us here, and we did not therefore remain longer than was absolutely necessary to take in 400 tons of coal—a feat which was performed in the almost incredibly short space of twenty-one hours—and to pick up 300 men of the troops wrecked in the ill-fated Transit. Distributing these between the Pearl and ourselves, we at once proceeded on our voyage, cheered by the news that the Himalaya had already passed, and that ships were on the watch at the Straits of Anjier, for the diversion of the Assistance and Adventure, now daily expected. Our own decks were densely crowded with nearly a thousand souls, whose condition was not improved by an atmosphere in which the thermometer continually stood over 90°. Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of Captain Peel in "carrying on," in consequence of the prevalence of the south-west monsoon we had been a fortnight beating down to Singapore ; but we were favoured up the Bay of Bengal by the gales which had been adverse to us in the China Sea, and reached the Sandheads in exactly three weeks from the date of our leaving Hong-Kong.

The interest which we felt as we approached the theatre of the terrible drama which was then being enacted in India, was converted into a still livelier emotion by the intelligence which we received when we reached Diamond Harbour, of a rumour that a large body of mutineers were marching down from Berhampore upon Calcutta. The more ardent spirits amongst us at once imagined that we were fated to arrive there just in time to take an active share in the defence of the city; whilst Lord Elgin, who knew not what credit to attach to the report, at a time when every successive mail had so far surpassed our worst anticipations, immediately telegraphed to Lord Canning his proximity with 1700 men (the Pearl and blue-jackets included).

As we swept past Garden Reach, on the afternoon of the 8th August, the excitement on board was increased by early indications of the satisfaction with which our appearance was hailed on shore. First our stately ship suddenly burst upon the astonished gaze of two European gentlemen taking their evening walk, who, seeing her crowded with the eager faces of men ready for the fray, took off their hats and cheered wildly; then the respectable skipper of a merchantman worked himself into a state of frenzy, and made us a long speech, which we could not hear, but the violence of his gesticulations left us in little doubt as to its import; then his crew took up the cheer, which was passed on at intervals until the thunder of our 68-pounders drowned every other sound; shattered the windows of sundry of the "Palaces;" attracted a crowd of spectators to the Maidan, and brought the contents of Fort William on to the glacis.

As soon as the smoke cleared away, the soldiers of the garrison collected there sent up a series of hearty cheers; a moment more and our men were clustered like ants upon the rigging, and, in the energy which they threw into their ringing response, they pledged themselves to the achievement of those deeds of valour which have since covered the Naval Brigade with glory. After the fort had saluted, Lord Elgin landed amid the cheers of the crowd assembled at the Ghaut to receive him, and proceeded to Government House, gratified to learn, not merely from the popular demonstrations, but from Lord Canning himself, that though happily the physical force he had brought with him was not required to act in defence of the city, still that the presence of a man-of-war larger than any former ship that had ever anchored abreast of the Maidan, and whose guns commanded the city, was calculated to produce upon both the European and native population a most wholesome moral effect, more especially at a time when the near approach of the Mohurrum had created in men's minds an unusual degree of apprehension and excitement.

CHAPTER IV.

CONDITION OF INDIA IN AUGUST 1857—STATE OF CALCUTTA—ORGANISATION OF NAVAL BRIGADE—THE MOHURRUM—DEPARTURE FROM CALCUTTA—POLICY ADOPTED BY LORD ELGIN—RESIDENCE AT HONG-KONG—ITS ABSENCE OF ATTRACTIONS—A TRIP UP THE RIVER—MACAO—A CHINESE DINNER.

We spent August 1857 in Calcutta. Of all the eventful months of that most terrible year in India's history, it was probably the one most pregnant with evil forebodings. At no former period had the crisis appeared so imminent. Two commanders-in-chief had already succumbed before Delhi; our army was dwindling away under its walls, and its leaders urgently demanding reinforcements which did not exist. Agra was besieged by a mutinous army, and men feared for the unhappy garrison a repetition of the Cawnpore tragedy. This frightful catastrophe appeared to impend still more surely over the devoted band at Lucknow, whose deliverance, at one time, was considered hopeless. At Dinapore our troops had just met with a disaster. The gallant little army under General Havelock, despairing of reinforcements, decimated by cholera, and worn out by battles and hardships, were compelled to retire on Cawnpore. Oude, Rohilcund, Bundelcund, were lost to us; the disaffection threatened to spread into the other Presidencies; everywhere the mutineers seemed triumphant; station after station was being deserted and plundered; each week steamers full of fugitives arrived from up the country, with additional horrors to recount, and more disaffection to report. All communication was stopped with the north-west; from Burdwan to Delhi, the country was infested with mutineers; and every regiment but two in the Bengal army had either been disarmed, disbanded, or had mutinied. With the exception of the small China force, no European troops had arrived or were expected to arrive for two months. Meantime the hot weather was all against us, and all in favour of the rebels.

Under these painful circumstances, nothing struck me so forcibly, on my arrival, as the apparent calm which reigned in Calcutta. And yet, after the first few weeks, nothing appeared more reasonable than that this should be so. Those who are removed to a great distance from the scene of thrilling events, and experience at the receipt of periodical intelligence from it an intense degree of excitement, forget that if those on the spot were to be subjected to a similar strain upon the nervous system, continued over a length of time, it would give way altogether. Providentially the very proximity of the danger, and constant familiarity with those horrible details, which, arriving by instalments in England, acted on society like a series of electric shocks, produced a calmness almost amounting to apathy in India. So far as the outward aspect of society was concerned, Calcutta was just as I had left it seven years before. The Maidan was just as crowded by its beauty and fashion now as it used to be then ; burra-cannas were nearly as numerous, considering it was the height of the hot weather ; and there was even a wretched attempt at an opera, which, however, was very thinly attended. The only differences I observed were, that constant reviews took place of volunteer corps ; that the Governor-General's body-guard mounted sentry without swords ; and that dining in Fort William involved the risk of being bayoneted by a series of Irish sentries, who would not admit your pronunciation of the parole to be correct, and were haunted by the suspicion that you were the King of Oude in disguise escaping in a buggy.

It would be in the highest degree unjust to attribute this apparent indifference to any want of appreciation of the real nature of the crisis, much less to any want of sympathy in behalf of those who had suffered, or of depth of feeling on the part of the sufferers themselves. It arose rather from that deliberate courage and steady determination to face the danger, and support the trials, which had so eminently distinguished our countrymen scattered throughout the upper provinces, and which had led to acts of unparalleled heroism. The public felt that, with the present deficiency of physical force, they must principally rely for safety upon that moral effect which an undaunted attitude would create in the minds of the natives. Nowhere was this conviction more decidedly entertained, or its results more conspicuously displayed, than at Government House, and there can be little doubt that the example set by Lord Canning himself in this respect, exercised a most wholesome and tranquillising influence upon society at large.

Meantime the organisation of the naval brigade proceeded rapidly; indeed, we had scarcely left the ship before our cabins were dismantled, and the preparations commenced for the equipment of very nearly the entire ship's company. Within a week after our arrival in Calcutta these were completed, and Lord Elgin went on board the Shannon, to bid farewell to the men and officers in a parting address, which was received with hearty cheers. A few hours afterwards they were on board the flats which were to convey them to the scene of their future triumphs.

We found Sir Patrick Grant at Calcutta; and a few days afterwards Sir Colin Campbell unexpectedly arrived to assume the command-in-chief of the army in India, and to inspire fresh confidence into the minds of all. The most exciting period of our visit was during the last days of the Mohurrum, when predictions were rife of midnight attacks, and one or two ladies took refuge on board ships in the river. A 24-pound howitzer, hoisted up to the maintop of the Shannon, looked menacingly over the Maidan, while strong guards of soldiers and volunteers were posted all over the town. The last day, however, universally named as the day of attack, passed over quietly. I happened to meet the procession on their way to throw the Ziahs into the water. I have scarcely ever seen a Mohammedan religious procession less excited ; indeed, the panic among the natives was much greater than among the Europeans, for the preparations made by the latter induced a dread on the part of the natives that they might be attacked by mistake.

Lord Elgin was detained at Calcutta until the arrival of the mail informing him that the force which he had diverted was to be replaced by 1500 marines. An offer made by General Hearsay for regiments to volunteer for China, was only responded to by one ; and it was evident, therefore, that no dependence could be placed upon extensive reinforcements to be derived from this source. As for the original China force, it was owing to their opportune arrival that the tide of rebellion, which had been setting steadily down upon Calcutta, was already stemmed. The regiments diverted from Singapore had saved Dinapore, relieved Arrah, and were in full march to join Havelock : upon these timely reinforcements not only was the relief of Lucknow, but the safety of Bengal, depending. It was therefore clear to Lord Elgin that he need not expect to see again any one of the China regiments now employed in India ; nor, while they were rendering such vital service, could he desire it. A consideration of these circumstances involved a very serious change in his policy in China, whither he was now desirous of returning, for the purpose of conferring with Baron Gros immediately upon his arrival. In consequence of the Shannon having been made over for the service of the Indian Government, the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer Ava was placed at Lord Elgin's disposal for his conveyance to China; and on the 3d of September we bade adieu to our hospitable hosts at Calcutta, and once more turned our faces towards the Celestial Empire.

General Van Straubenzee and his staff, who had arrived in Calcutta with Sir Colin Campbell, under the impression that the generals of the China force had proceeded with it to India, finding that they had not received orders to leave Hong-Kong, accompanied us on our return voyage to that place.

On the 20th of September, after a prosperous passage, we once more found ourselves anchored under Victoria Peak, in circumstances very little more encouraging than those which had forced us away from China two months before. An expedition to the mouth of the Peiho was more than ever to be deprecated. Two months more must elapse before the first instalment of marines could be expected, at the most favourable computation. Baron Gros had not yet made his appearance.

In the mean time, during our absence at Calcutta, the complications and difficulties arising out of the anomalous state of things already described upon the Canton River, had forced the Admiral to establish a blockade, which gave a new complexion to the aspect of our diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government. To go to the mouth of the Peiho, unsupported either by the representatives of other powers, or a naval force of our own, would be to insure an insult from the Government at Pekin; whilst the prevalence of the north-east monsoon would retard our arrival in the Gulf of Pechelee until so late a period of the year, that a departure would be forced upon us with a precipitancy in the highest degree encouraging to the systematic policy of the Empire in dealing with barbarians, and injurious to our national prestige. The treatment which we received from the Chinese authorities upon the occasion of our subsequent visit to the Peiho, fully confirmed the estimate then formed of the obstinacy of the Government of Pekin. Under these circumstances, Lord Elgin determined patiently to await at Hong-Kong the arrival of the force destined for the capture of Canton, and when that operation was concluded, to proceed northward as early as possible in the following year, retaining possession of the city as a material guarantee for the satisfaction of our demands.

In the mean time, the interval of inaction at Hong-Kong, which this determination rendered inevitable, involved an existence under circumstances of a somewhat trying character. A steamer of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, however comfortable its accommodation, and obliging and amiable its commander (and in Captain Caldbeck we were particularly fortunate in this regard), is not exactly the residence which one would select, in which to pass two summer months in one of the worst tropical climates in the world. Nor, even if the attractions of Hong-Kong were less than they are, which is scarcely possible, is it a pleasant thing to be anchored a mile at least from the shore. During the season of typhoons this distance was doubled. We then sought shelter under the Kowloon promontory; and a dinner on shore was a serious undertaking, when it involved a midnight voyage in an open Tanka boat, possibly in a gale of wind or a pitiless storm of rain. This was an experience of common occurrence. Sometimes we were detained on shore from stress of weather; and on the occasion of a typhoon, which destroyed two hundred junks at Macao, but the full violence of which we escaped, the Ava was obliged to keep under steam all night.

When it was not blowing or raining, the heat was intolerable; and we all suffered more or less in health from its evil effects. Often for days together we remained sweltering on board, from lack of energy or sufficient inducement to leave the ship. The charms of the Club or the excitement of a game of billiards failed to tempt us. Hong-Kong boasts of only two walks for the conscientious valetudinarian —one along the sea-shore to the right, and the other to the left of the settlement: then there is a scramble to the top of Victoria Peak at the back of it; but this achievement involves an early start, and a probable attack of fever. The monotony of life is varied by this malady alternating with boils or dysentery; so that the proverbial hospitality of the merchants at Hong-Kong can only be exercised under very adverse influences. It was not difficult to account for a certain depression of spirits, and tone of general irritability, which seemed to pervade the community. A large bachelors' dinner was the extreme limit of gaiety.

It was provoking that a place possessing so many scenic attractions should have been so entirely devoid of other charms. Like a beautiful woman with a bad temper, Hong-Kong claimed our admiration while it repelled our advances. We did, indeed, make one spasmodic effort to be "jolly under creditable circumstances." Lord Elgin gave a pic-nic at the Bogue Forts. As his invitations were responded to by nearly all the ladies in the place, as the day happened to be lovely, and the Ava admirably adapted for the excursion, the attempt was not altogether unsuccessful; and on our return at night, we indulged in a little picturesque dissipation. The deck was turned into a ball-room. The band of the Calcutta supplied us with excellent music; while huge fantastic Chinese lanterns, swinging from the awning, threw a brilliant light upon the dancers.

On the 16th of October Baron Gros arrived in the Audacieuse, and after conferring with Lord Elgin, took up his anchorage in Castle Peak Bay, Lantao Island, where Admiral Rigault de Genouilly, with the French fleet, were at anchor, about twelve miles distant from Hong-Kong. As Lord Elgin was desirous of judging for himself on the state of matters in the river, he proceeded in the Ava to Macao Fort. With the exception of the withdrawal of the garrison from Chuenpee, the occupation of North Wantung Island, and the absence of any junks from the river in consequence of the blockade, the aspect of affairs seemed unchanged since my last visit. We cast longing glances from the top of the Pagoda in Macao Fort upon the heights at the back of Canton, crowned by the five-storied Pagoda and Gough's Fort, with which we hoped before long to make a closer acquaintance.

On our return voyage we passed through Elliot's Passage, which had not been traversed for months; we therefore took another gunboat, towing an armed pinnace, so as to be prepared for the very improbable contingency of meeting mandarin junks. The scenery was extremely pretty, the people engaged in taking in the harvest stared at us with curiosity, but apparent confidence. We entered the Whampoa Channel at the town of Whampoa,—formerly a place of as great bustle and activity as the port of Canton, the site of docks, and the anchorage of large merchant fleets; now partially deserted, and desolate-looking in the extreme.

On the following day we proceeded to Macao, and explored that interesting old Portuguese settlement, with which, however, we have been too long familiar in England to render description necessary. Its air of respectable antiquity was refreshing, after the somewhat parvenu character with which its ostentatious magnificence invests Hong-Kong. The narrow streets and grass-grown plazas, the handsome façade of the fine old cathedral crumbling to decay, the shady walks and cool grottoes, once the haunt of the Portuguese Poet ; his tomb, and the view from it, all combined to produce a soothing and tranquillising effect upon sensibilities irritated by our recent mode of life.

We strolled down to the harbour, and found it full of junks, most of them heavily armed with 6, 9, and 12-pound guns, bearing the well-known initials B., P., & Co., of this year's date, to be converted by Yeh to his own use when occasion required, for the crews did not conceal the fact that Canton was their destination—of course for trading purposes. Since the blockade of the river, the whole trade with Canton has been carried along the passage at the back of Macao, known as the Broadway.

We refreshed ourselves after the fatigues of our exploration at a Chinese restaurant, where I made my first experience in Chinese cookery, and, in spite of the novelty of the implements, managed, by the aid of chopsticks, to make a very satisfactory repast off eggs a year old preserved in clay, sharks' fins and radishes pared and boiled into a thick soup, *bêche de mer* or sea-slugs, shrimps made into a paste with sea-chestnuts, bamboo roots, and garlic, rendered piquant by the addition of soy and sundry other pickles and condiments, and washed down with warm samshu in minute cups. Dishes and plates were all on the smallest possible scale, and pieces of square brown paper served the purpose of napkins.

On the 28th of October the arrival of the Imperador, after a remarkably quick voyage, with the first batch of marines on board, imparted new life and hope to the breast of every one connected with the Chinese expedition. It was the first faint glimmering of daylight, after the long night of despondency and inaction.

CHAPTER V.

VOYAGE TO THE PHILIPPINES—ARRIVAL AT MANILLA—APPEARANCE OF THE TOWN—A VARIED POPULATION—THEIR COSTUMES—TOBACCO-MANUFACTORY—THE PRICE OF TOBACCO—A PIÑA SHOP—INDOLENCE OF THE MESTIZOES—INDUSTRY OF THE CHINESE POPULATION—CHINESE EMIGRATION: ITS ADVANTAGES—THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES—MILITARY MASS—A TRIP TO CAVITÈ—A RELIGIOUS PROCESSION—EXCURSION TO THE LAGO DE BAI—LOS BAÑOS—THE ROMANCE OF LA GIRONIÈRE—THE ISLAND OF SOCOLME—A STORMY VOYAGE—THE TRADE OF MANILLA.

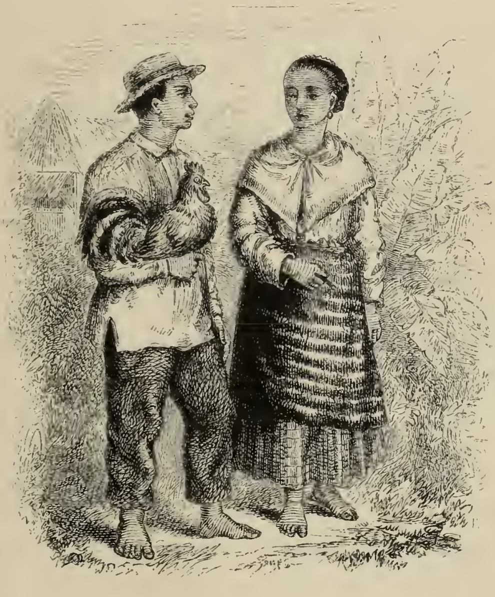
It will easily be believed that the mode of existence described in the last Chapter, was one calculated to give one a very keen relish for anything like a change, more especially when that change involved all the excitement of novelty and sight-seeing incidental to a visit to a new country. It was therefore with no little satisfaction that, on the 10th of November, I availed myself of permission to accompany Captain Sherard Osborn to Manilla in H.M.S. Furious,—a ship with which I was destined afterwards to become better acquainted, and in which he was then kind enough to offer me a passage. Mr Wingrove Cooke, with whose graphic descriptions of the events which at this period transpired in China the public are familiar, was my fellow-passenger on this occasion. After a pleasant run of three days, we sighted the high land of the island of Luzon, and coasted along its wooded shores, indented with deep bays, at the head of which small country towns were situated, and from which the country craft issued that carry on a brisk coasting trade with Manilla.

The Bay of Manilla is so capacious as to partake more of the character of an inland sea than of a harbour. It was nearly midnight when we made its narrow entrance, and three hours more ere we reached our anchorage. We were up early to take our first look of Manilla; but the view of the town from the sea presents nothing very imposing. A long row of red-tiled roofs, with here and there the dome of a church, appears over the walls of the fort, situated in the angle formed by the embouchure of the river Pasig, and separated from the sea by a strip of green esplanade. Two substantially-built moles or "murallons" confine the waters of the river for some distance after they have reached the sea; at the end of one is a lighthouse, and of the other a guardhouse. We pull across the bar, between walls of granite, and wend our way amongst the miscellaneous assemblage of shipping that crowds the river,—Spanish feluccas and Malay proas, English merchantmen hauled up to refit, and gunboats with long sweeps, and pontines, and galeras, and caraçoas, and every description of country craft and uncouth rig, and, by way of contrast, two small screw-steamers, which ply across the harbour to Cavitè, of which the Spaniards are particularly proud, and to one of which they have given the significant name of the "Progresso." Small river-boats, full of vegetables or passengers, cut in and out; groups of women are collected on the steps bathing; and customhouse guards lounge upon the river brink, but they have a proper respect for a British man-of-war's gig, and allow us to reach our landing-place unchallenged, and carry our portmanteaus to the hotel, without manifesting the slightest curiosity to know whether they contain the two articles which are perhaps most commonly to be found in every traveller's luggage, but which are most strictly prohibited from being landed at Manilla, to wit, Bibles and revolvers.

In ascending the river, the fortified town, containing the garrison and residences of the officials, is on the right-hand side; on the other is a densely populated suburb, in which the shops, hotels, and foreigners' houses are situated. This is intersected by sundry canals running at right angles to the river, crowded with boats, and on the banks of one of these stood the hotel to which we were destined. It was patronised by what Americans would call "a mixed crowd," chiefly captains of merchantmen from every quarter of the globe, but whose polyglot conversation did not at all perplex our bustling hostess, as she spoke, during breakfast, English, French, Spanish, Malay, and Hindostanee, all with such perfect fluency that her own nationality remained a mystery.

In obedience to the first and most natural impulse of a visitor to Manilla, we lost no time in making our way to the principal cheroot-manufactory; and as we drove through the streets there was plenty to engage our attention. Their whole aspect, as well as that of the population with which they are crowded, differs entirely from that of any other town I had ever visited in the East. The houses are two-storied, the upper half forming the dwelling-house and the lower the shop. Round the upper story runs a covered balcony, the sides and fronts composed of shutters divided into minute squares, which are filled with mother-of-pearl shells, the transparency of the nacre serving the purpose of glass. Beneath this balcony blue and white calico screens project, and fall beyond the side pavement in such a manner as to form a covered way for the passengers, sufficient not only to protect them from the sun, but to conceal them from the view of anybody in the centre of the street. These screens are put up in accordance with a municipal regulation, and, when they are new, and the colours are fresh, give a gay appearance to the streets.

A mixed multitude throng these shady side-walks. Chinese and English, pure Spaniards and mestizoes, Malays and Tagala Indians, here jostle one another, and present every possible shade of colour which could result from a combination of all these races in various proportions. The variety of costume is similarly graduated, its composition depending upon the composition of the wearer, and differing only in degree as it descends from the European to the Indian. The coloured men are for the most part compelled by law to wear their shirts outside their trousers. These latter are often made of coloured silk, while the shirt is composed of a transparent fabric called husè, for which Manilla is celebrated, woven from the fibre of the banana (*musa textilis*), upon which gay patterns are generally worked. The women wear jackets of this material, which cover but do not conceal their figure to the waist, round which the saya or petticoat is bound. The colouring is always bright, and over it is sometimes worn, out of doors, a sort of wrapper,



Mestizoes.

reaching from the waist to the knee, called a sapiz, and consisting of dark blue silk or cotton cloth. This is, however, more particularly an article of dress appertaining to the Chinese half-breeds, as distinct from the Spanish. The slippers are an impossible-looking *chaussure*, the toes only being covered with cloth, gaily embroidered in gold and silver, but so scanty in quantity that it does not cover the little toe, which, projecting at the side, acts as a sort of movable clasp to keep on the slipper. For the proper performance of this function it must require a special education ; and these slippers are consequently by no means a useful article of dress to present to any one out of Manilla. To all this gay colouring is contrasted the sober costume of the priests, whose numbers and bearing are significant of the extent of that ecclesiastical influence which is dominant in the Philippines.

The tobacco-manufactory is situated in a square, and, as we entered the archway, our ears were saluted with a din worthy of a Manchester cotton-mill. We go up-stairs under the guidance of a cicerone told off to us, and walk through endless rooms full of women. The process of cigar-making, as practised here, is simple, monotonous, and noisy. On each side of a passage or aisle, leading down the centre of the long rooms, are tables raised about a foot from the ground, round each of which are squatted twelve or fourteen women, who keep up an incessant chattering, hammering, and giggling. Each woman is provided with a mallet, with which she beats out the leaf, preparatory to rolling within it a small handful of the broken tobacco, which she takes from a heap piled along the whole length of the table. Her fingers and mallet seem to move as mechanically as her tongue ; but the combination of noises is deafening, and we are content to ask very few questions on the spot, and to get our information afterwards.

I was surprised at the proportion of Havannah-shaped cigars which were being manufactured. Formerly these were entirely reserved for local consumption. The present Governor has, however, allowed them to come into competition in the markets of the world with the Havannahs ; and, whatever may be their success in that respect, they at all events bid fair to drive the old cheroot shape out of the market. The best tobacco is reserved for them, and more care is taken in their manufacture. They are in consequence very highly priced,—the No. 1, Imperiales, a gigantic cigar, being thirty dollars a thousand ; while the No. 2, Cortado, an ordinary-sized cheroot, is only eight. The Imperiales contain no broken tobacco, but consist simply of one leaf rolled into a cigar. As tobacco is a Government monopoly, the prices are all fixed arbitrarily, and everybody runs the same risk in making purchases. There is only one quality of each size, whether Havannah or Manilla shaped ; but the larger sizes may be said, as a rule, to be composed of the best description of tobacco. A certain amount of tobacco is served out to each table, out of which a given quantity of cigars are to be made. By these means a uniform size in the cigar is secured, and a check upon the consumption of tobacco imposed. Each woman is paid according to the quantity of cigars she makes ; their earnings vary from six to ten dollars a-month. There is a popular fallacy very common in England, that cheroots contain opium. The value of the latter drug is quite a sufficient proof that they would not pay at their present price were that the case. I could scarcely credit, until I saw the returns, the fact that the consumption of tobacco in the Philippines themselves is about five times as great as the entire amount exported to foreign markets. The whole population, of both sexes and all ages, certainly appear to be constantly emitting clouds of tobacco smoke, but their numbers scarcely seem to warrant this proportion of the entire consumption.

One of the most beautiful fabrics of Manilla, and for which it is justly celebrated, is the Piña cloth, woven from the fibre of the pine-apple. It is only used in the dress of the wealthy, being too costly for common use. Our curiosity on the subject of tobacco satisfied, we next proceeded in search of some good specimens of Piña manufacture, to the house of an old lady celebrated for her varied assortment of this fabric. To my surprise, we were ushered through an imposing gateway into the courtyard of a no less imposing mansion. A handsome carriage, decorated with armorial bearings, was standing here, the property of the lady of the house. Ascending the massive staircase, we were shown into a well-furnished drawing-room, ornamented with pictures, flower-stands of Bohemian glass, mirrors, and other articles of taste or vertu. The presiding goddess of so much finery stood in the centre of it all, smoking a giant cigar, and looking like a retired old sick-nurse, with nothing on but a jacket of more than usually transparent texture, a dirty petticoat, and her bare feet thrust into faded slippers. I could scarcely persuade myself that so untidy an old female was the proprietress of the handsome carriage, and of the expensive-looking establishment to which it belonged. Her daughter, a young lady of some attractions, was sitting, similarly attired, in the next room, embroidering Piña pocket-handkerchiefs.

The Piña is more curious than useful to people who are in the habit of wearing something thicker than gauze ; and accordingly a small outlay was sufficient to satisfy our wants, if not those of the old lady, who hospitably plied us with cigars while she spread before us articles of every variety and value. An elaborately embroidered Piña dress is often priced at £300 and upwards.

Shopping at Manilla is an unsatisfactory pursuit. The principal streets are the Escolta and Rosario ; but all the best shops are kept by Chinamen, who fairly beat the mestizoes out of the field as traders. The superior industry, intelligence, and economical habits of the pure Chinaman give him an immense advantage over the mestizo. The former despises feast days, and cares little for personal comfort ; he lives in the little shop which contains his stock in trade, and keeps his eyes open. The mestizo spends half his existence in a gala dress, does not condescend to live in his shop, and has no business habits when he is there. In the middle of the day he is generally asleep, and is excessively disgusted at being roused to serve a customer. It is not at all an uncommon thing to see a man coiled up snoring in one corner of his shop, and a mestizo girl stretched luxuriously at full length upon the counter, her beautiful black hair thrown back from her face, falling in wavy massive folds to the ground, and her bosom heaving so softly and regularly with the long-drawn breath of a profound slumber, that, rather than do violence to his æsthetic nature by disturbing sleeping beauty, the purchaser moves gently on to the next shop, and finds a grinning Chinaman, with his eyes so destitute of lids that he looks as if he could not wink, much less sleep, but which sparkle with intelligence and cupidity; who is imbued with the firm determination, if he does not possess in his shop the article which you do want, to force you to buy from him something you do not.

Manilla, like Singapore, owes a great part of its prosperity to the Chinese portion of the population ; and, in our management of this race in our own possessions, it might not be unprofitable to investigate the expediency of some of those measures which other nations, inferior to us in the art of colonisation as a rule, have found it necessary to employ. All the Chinese arriving at Manilla are registered and taxed according to their occupations. They are divided into four classes—merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and day-labourers. The entire Chinese population has been estimated as high as 30,000, but, according to a Spanish author, writing in 1842, "the number actually enrolled does not exceed 6000, and their capitation-tax is above 100,000 dollars a-year, while that of all the native inhabitants, exceeding 3,000,000, does not equal eight times that amount." This taxation is manifestly excessive, and no good object could be obtained by drawing any distinction in our own possessions between the Chinese and the British subject; but the election of a capitan by themselves, whose office it is to collect the tribute, and arrange all internal differences, and who is to a certain extent responsible for the good conduct of his countrymen, is an excellent arrangement. At the same time that the capitan is elected, his lieutenant and head-constable are also chosen by the Chinese. Were we to establish a good system of responsible government among our Chinese populations, and employ a sufficient staff of interpreters, we should be relieved from apprehension on their account, and they, from the dread of the consequences with which we are apt to visit them under the influence of that apprehension.

In all other respects, there is no comparison between the advantages held out to emigrants from the Celestial Empire by our possessions—with the exception of Australia—and those of other countries. Not only are they exempt from a poll-tax, but the rate of wage is higher than either in the Philippines or Java ; while the freedom from commercial restrictions, and the bustling activity of an energetic Anglo-Saxon community, are congenial to that spirit of mercantile enterprise which assimilates the Chinese to ourselves, and impels them instinctively to migrate to those localities best adapted to its development. This is most satisfactorily proved by the actual proportion which the Chinese bear to the whole population of different European settlements, and which Mr Crawfurd computes as follows: "In Java, the Chinese form the one-hundredth part, and in the Philippines about the four-hundredth part, of the population. In the British possessions collectively, the Chinese constitute about one-third of the inhabitants, and in Singapore two-thirds."

It would be a wise policy in us to encourage, to a greater extent than we do, Chinese emigration to other settlements besides those to which they have already found their way. Not only should we be able to retain Labuan, as a colony from which we could exercise an important influence over Borneo, teeming with valuable productions, but we could make the little island itself profitable by the introduction of Chinese labour for the development of its mineral resources. It is not, however, merely in the settlements of the Malay archipelago to which Chinese emigration might be directed and encouraged by Government with great advantage, but to many tropical colonies in other parts of the world, such as British Guiana, where there is an enormous capacity of production, coupled with an utter inadequacy of means. We must be careful of judging of the results of Chinese immigration by the experiences of California, Australia, or any other colony where peculiar conditions, resulting from gold discoveries, exist, and where the climate admits of competition by whites. It is as undesirable that such a competition should be established in those countries adapted for European out-of-door labour, as that others should be deprived of the benefits of any such labour at all, because the climate is fatal to the white man.

As we proposed a short trip into the interior, for which passports were necessary, we went to Government House to obtain them, and at the same time to pay a visit to the Captain-General. Two bridges, one of which is suspension, and the other a respectable structure of ten arches, span the Pasig, and connect the suburb with the fortified town. This suburb, or rather extramural city, contains a population of nearly 200,000 souls ; the walled city contains about 10,000 people, almost entirely pure white, and consists of eight narrow streets running at right angles to one another, aristocratic and dull, and a square or plaza. In this the Governor's residence is situated, and from the windows at the back a magnificent view of the harbour is obtained. The present Governor is the most popular and enlightened man that has filled the office since Don Pascual Enrile, celebrated for having opened internal communication, and removed those restrictions on colonial shipping with which, with their usual infatuated policy, the Spanish Government retarded the prosperity of one of its most valuable possessions. The advanced views of his predecessor have in many instances been improved upon, and carried out by the present Governor, who was peculiarly fitted for his post by the opportunities which were afforded him, during the years he spent in political exile at Manilla, of making himself acquainted with the wants of the colony, at a time when he little thought he would ever be called on to govern it. It is fair to him to say, that it does not follow that, because a man has been a *deportado* to Manilla, he should have been guilty of any act of treason against the existing Government. It is simply the result of an electioneering " dodge," not unlike some that have been recently practised in Kansas. The Government, when it appeals to the country, begins by exiling a large number of the *probable* hostile voters,—an effectual mode of counteracting the effects of the ballot, which might be suggested for adoption by ourselves should that measure ever be introduced.

The Captain-General had himself visited Calcutta, and was deeply interested in the intelligence which we gave him of the progress and prospects of the mutiny. In the evening we took a drive on the Calzada or public promenade. Unfortunately it was too late for us to see as much as we wished of the fair or coloured occupants of the numerous carriages, which form two long lines throughout the whole length of the drive, and which are kept upon their proper sides by mounted policemen stationed at intervals along the road, as solemn and pompous, if not so gorgeous, as the sentries at the Horse-Guards.

At Manilla, as in other Roman Catholic countries, the gayest day next to a feast-day is Sunday. It so happened that the Sunday we were there was also a saint's day,—all the church-going taking place in the morning, and the dancing in the evening. The former begins almost with the day ; and the ceremony of a military mass which we attended, involved an effort of early rising. The cathedral was undergoing repairs, and the churches we entered were none of them remarkable specimens of ecclesiastical architecture or ornament. The one in which military mass was held was poorly attended. When we first went in, a few pretty female figures, with dark complexions, lustrous eyes, and graceful mantillas falling over their shoulders, dotted about in kneeling attitudes, and old men mumbling in corners and crossing themselves, composed the whole congregation. Then the clang of martial music outside was followed by the entry of two or three regiments, the men uncovered, with their shakoes swinging between their shoulders. Six soldiers with drawn swords occupied the altar platform, and, as the priests entered, these presented arms, and the band opened the proceedings with a very pretty waltz. Indeed, the whole service, from beginning to end, was musical, the officiating priest, a very black man, confining himself to pantomime, and the band varying time according to his gestures. When he elevated the host, they went down on their knees, and played an air very much resembling a polka, crossing themselves with great rapidity in time to the music. Then came tunes which the uninitiated might have supposed were galops and quadrilles. The whole performance was entirely devoid of any sacred character, and only lasted about half an hour. The soldiers were a handsome, well set-up body of men, in a neat white uniform, and red facings turned up with black. The officers have nearly all come out from Spain, as the service is a favourite one, and well paid. The Spanish army in the Philippines is maintained at about 12,000 strong. The last time they were employed on active service was in 1851, when a force of 4000 men were sent to chastise the Sooloo Rajah: this they accomplished satisfactorily, with a loss of about 100 men. A contingent of 3000 men has recently been engaged, in alliance with the French forces in Cochin-China, in an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the king of that country to submission.

We were rendered independent of any of the steamers which, decked with flags, were carrying crowds of gaily-dressed pleasure-seekers to the festa at Cavitè, as the Kestrel (Lieut. Rason),* which had put into Manilla for repairs, carried us comfortably across the harbour in two hours. At Cavitè are situated the Government docks ; and the Spanish Commodore came off to inspect the marvellous little craft which had just weathered the dangers of a passage round the Cape, and the minute dimensions of which struck him with astonishment. His residence was in the dock, through which we walked on our way to the town. It is small, and of no great pretensions to strength. Cavitè contains about 15,000 inhabitants; and, as evening closed in, the main street presented a gay and brilliant aspect. The houses, although two-storied, were small and insignificant; but countless lights twinkled in every window, and drapery of gorgeous colours hung from the balconies, and, leaning over them, signoritas smoking cigarettes, laughingly contemplated the crowd below, as it surged to and fro in anxious anticipation of the grand *spectacle.*

A general explosion of rockets, and the martial strains of a military band, announced the start of the procession. Then came the usual struggle for places and loss of pocket-handkerchiefs; and, through a lane in the crowd, passed, first the band, then a gentleman in black with a white tie, who looked like a master of ceremonies, and superintended the distribution of tapers to such of the crowd as were disposed to form part of the procession. These amateur taper-bearers formed two rows, and between them, in double file, toddled, rather than walked, a number of miniature nuns and monks in full religious costume, the oldest of whom might have attained the age of five or six. The shaved crowns and sandalled feet of the tiny monks, as they led by the hand with great dignity and solemnity their still smaller sisters, produced a very grotesque effect, which was heightened, if possible, by the miscellaneous costume of a crowd of children that followed, in the most extravagant fancy dresses. Then came the Virgin, carried by men screened by drapery, on a wooden stage, a perfect mass of tinsel and wax-lights, followed by priests, while two or three regiments, with fixed bayonets, brought up the rear. As soon as this display is over, the revels of the night fairly begin. The taper-bearers, having escorted the Virgin home, plunge wildly into the delights of fandangoes and cachuchas; every house is open to the stranger, if he likes to take part in the amusement of the evening, and in almost every one gambling and dancing are carried on until the morning of the following day, which, not being dedicated to any saint, is dedicated to a rest from the fatigues of the debauchery committed on the one that is.

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* This gallant young officer was killed at the recent attack upon the Peiho Forts.

As we had determined to start the same night for the interior, we were not tempted to prolong our stay at Cavitè. Indeed, having in the most orthodox way gone through the whole services of the day, we thought we might dispense with the sermon ; and at midnight, instead of dancing fandangoes, we were snugly ensconced at the bottom of a canoe upon the river Pasig, lulled to sleep by the measured stroke of our boatmen's paddles, as they forced the little craft rapidly up stream. We were accompanied on our expedition by Mr and Mrs G——, to whose hospitality we were indebted during our stay at Manilla. Daylight found us in the Lago de Bai, under the lee of the island of Talim. Its high volcanic hills were wooded to the summit, and indented with charming little bays, fringed with drooping bamboos. The lake is somewhat in the shape of a horse's hoof,—a peninsula, at the end of which is the island of Talim, forming the frog. From here we stretched across to the southern shore, the high and precipitous mountains of which looked comparatively near, but to the westward the waters of the lake formed the horizon. The Lago de Bai is the largest sheet of fresh water as yet discovered in the Eastern archipelago, being twenty-eight miles in length by twenty-two in breadth.

Our destination, which we reached in time for a late breakfast, is celebrated for some thermal springs, which, bubbling out of the ground, almost at the water's edge, enable the weary traveller to refresh himself with a warm bath, though, as the temperature is sufficiently high to boil an egg in four minutes, he had better not make rash experiments. In consequence of these springs, which at one time enjoyed some celebrity, the village is called Los Baños. It consists only of a few Indian huts, in one of which elevated on piles, and surrounded by a crowd of admiring natives, we restored exhausted nature preparatory to a trip to the island of Socolme. Fortunately I had not seen the narrative of that amusing, but most audacious romancer, La Gironière, or our appetites might have been spoiled by the anticipation of the dangers to be encountered. His evidently was. The Indians had told him that the small lake in this island was infested with alligators, from whom—so great was their voracity—"escape in a canoe by rowing quickly was impossible." "There was much good sense," says La Gironière, "in what they said; but we were never deterred by dangers or difficulties," &c. So he and his friend, Mr Lindsay, venture on the hazardous experiment of going in a canoe on a lake where there are reported to be alligators. "We had not proceeded many yards from the bank, when we all experienced feelings of alarm, attributable, no doubt, to the expectation of danger being immediate, as well as the aspect of the place which presented itself to our view." Then comes a terrific charge of alligators—"the grand drama announced by the Indians is about to be realised," &c.,—"when Lindsay, *running all risks*, fires his gun direct at the brute;" and so on, in a strain the accuracy of which may be judged of from the fact, that he estimates the lake of Socolme as having an elevation of 1500 feet above the Lago de Bai, when fifteen feet is really the outside; and says, that it "does not receive the rays of the sun, except when that luminary is at its zenith;" whereas, the banks in many parts being not above twenty feet high, and in only one place about 200, the lake moreover being at least two miles round, it rejoices to a very equitable extent in the blessed rays of that "luminary." We trust, for the sake of La Gironière's credit as a sportsman, that he displayed as much courage with his rifle as he certainly has with his pen.

We paddled round the margin of the lake enchanted with its loveliness, sheltering ourselves from the noonday sun under the luxuriant vegetation which clothes its banks and droops into the water. Thousands of flying foxes had chosen for their retreat these leafy shades; their unsightly bodies were concealed by their expansive wings, as, clinging by their feet, they hung in dark festoons from the projecting branches. Disturbed by our approach, they flapped away over the lake, but we soon awoke its silent echoes with the reports of our guns, and two or three of these monstrous bats tumbled heavily into the water. If the alligators existed at all, they evidently had not recovered from the panic which must have been created by La Gironière's visit. Not one ventured to show the tip of his nose above the water.

We were loth to leave this fairy-like scene, and looking back upon it as we dragged our canoes over the narrow strip of land, were reminded rather of a diamond set in emeralds, than of the crater of an extinct volcano. As it was, the attractions of the island of Socolme had induced us to linger too long, for it was late ere we started on our return voyage; and a gale of wind had sprung up, in the mean time, of such violence, that, to our dismay, the boatmen at first refused to venture on the traject. An attempt which we insisted on their making was not encouraging; our slight canoe was no sooner exposed to the full force of the wind and waves than she took in a sea which half filled and very nearly upset her, so that we were compelled ignominiously to put back to a little bay, where a government felucca was lying, with the padrone of which we hoped to come to terms. Unfortunately, though susceptible to the influence of dollars, his men were absent; so, as the lady of our party was undaunted by our former experience, we determined to effect some improvements upon our own little craft, and tempt the waves in her once more. First we took off the roof, which shut down on her sides so closely as to give her the ominous appearance of a gigantic coffin, and rendered it extremely probable that she would serve us in that capacity in the event of an upset. Then we added to and strengthened our outriggers, reefed our sail to its smallest dimensions, and once more pushed out into the lake. Throughout the twelve hours of a night that seemed interminable, we battled with the waves; drenched to the skin, and seated in the water at the bottom of the boat, we chiefly employed ourselves baling, the hats of the boatmen rendering good service. Daylight found us hungry and rheumatic, gliding down the rapid current of the Pasig; but our condition rapidly improved under the genial influence of the morning sun; and an hour after our return to civilisation, we were so well satisfied with the adventures of our trip that we forgot its discomforts.

The little that we saw of the interior of Luzon only made us regret the more that our limited time did not admit of a more extended trip. The island affords magnificent scenery to the traveller in search of the picturesque, while its varied productions offer a wide and interesting field for observation. Government, however, is chary of gratifying the curiosity of foreigners in this respect; and the districts of Cayagan and Gupan, celebrated for their extensive growth of tobacco, are not to be visited without some difficulty. Sugar-cane is largely cultivated. The sugar, however, is only manufactured in small quantities at a time by the country people, in a very primitive manner. It is remarkable that, in the absence of steam, it should form one of the largest articles of export. The markets to which it is almost exclusively sent are England and Australia. The United States, on the other hand, seem to monopolise the trade in hemp. The late Russian War had the effect of largely raising the value of this article in Manilla. Unmanufactured hemp is burdened with an export duty from which Manilla rope is free. In the Philippines, as in all other colonies of continental European powers, the development of the magnificent resources of the country is cramped by the perpetuation of a system based on principles of political economy exploded among ourselves, and which we must hope cannot long resist the pressure of the enlightened views and commercial progress of other countries.

Meantime our gunboats have repaired the damages they have sustained during their long and hazardous voyage from England, and are again ready for sea; so we regretfully bid farewell to Manilla, and once more shape our course for the Celestial Empire, where events are in progress which will render our arrival there with one of these useful little craft in tow doubly acceptable.

CHAPTER VI.

ATTEMPT OF COUNT POUTIATINE TO REACH PEKIN—LAWLESS PROCEEDINGS IN THE CANTON RIVER—SINGULAR NATIVE PROCLAMATION—THE HALL OF PEACE AND PATRIOTISM—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—THE ULTIMATUM—OCCUPATION OF HONAN—YEH'S ANSWER—REPORT OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE EMPEROR HIEN FUNG AND KI SHUH-TSAN—EMBARKATION ON BOARD THE FURIOUS—DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FLOATING POPULATION—ASPECT OF THE RIVER FACE OF CANTON—EXPIRY OF THE DELAY—ANCHORAGE AT DANE'S ISLAND—TEMPER OF THE INHABITANTS—DELAY OF THE BOMBARDMENT.

The principal event which had occurred at Hong-Kong during our absence at Manilla was the departure of our Commander-in-Chief, General Ashburnham, for Calcutta, in the Ava, and the instalment of Lord Elgin in the house vacated by him on shore. The increasing coolness of the temperature rendered this change doubly enjoyable. Early in November the American Minister, Mr Reed, arrived in a frigate of gigantic proportions, and the Russian Minister, Count Poutiatine, in a paddle-wheel steamer of very minute dimensions. The latter had made the journey overland from St Petersburg to the Amour; not, however, without having applied for admission to Pekin by way of Kiahkta. On this being refused, he proceeded, on his own responsibility, to the mouth of the Peiho, where he was informed that no communication with the court of Pekin could be made on his behalf from that point. It was, however, after some time, conceded to him that a letter would be forwarded to Pekin, but that, if he wanted a reply, he must return to Kiahkta and wait there. Count Poutiatine declined to accede to these terms, and in consequence it was ultimately arranged that an answer should be sent to him at the mouth of the Peiho, whither he would return to receive it. When at last, after an interval of some weeks, Count Poutiatine once more appeared at the mouth of the Peiho, he received his answer, which consisted of a refusal to see him at Pekin, with an intimation that under no circumstances could the performance of the "Kotow" be dispensed with. The result of his experience had in fact been, to confirm the opinion entertained by Lord Elgin from the commencement, that nothing could be done with the Government of China except at the Peiho, and then only when a force sufficient to strike terror into the capital, and of a description calculated to navigate the shallow waters that lead to it, should be assembled there, to give irresistible force to the arguments of diplomacy.

About this time there occurred a curious illustration of the violent character of the more lawless portion of the population, inhabiting the creeks and islands of the Canton River, as well as of their ingenuity in turning to good account the troubles in which their country was involved. The incident was also instructive, as tending to show how many and serious were the evils to which might be exposed the unfortunate well-disposed inhabitants, who found in our cruisers but a poor substitute for the mandarin and war junks which had formerly protected them, and which we had scared away. A petition was sent down to Lord Elgin, enclosing a copy of a notice stated to have been widely circulated among the people, to the following effect:—"That the British navy, being now stationed from Shakok at the Bogue, up to Shekmun, it is hereby decreed that, in return for the protection the British vessels afford to the population against lawless persons who would otherwise cut grain without authority, 2 mace per acre (Chinese) shall be paid into the British office, called the Ning-i-Tong (Hall of Peace and Patriotism), near Nei-Tong; to which all agriculturists are directed to repair on the 30th or 31st October, or 1st November, with the money. On payment of this, they will receive a license to cut grain. If any person attempt to cut or carry grain without license, the vessels of the Ning-i-Tong of Great Britain will bring him to the said hall, with his vessels, which will be confiscated." Three regulations were appended to the above notice—"1. For every acre registered at the Hall of Great Britain, at Nei-Tong, license to reap shall be issued. 2. In any case where the brethren recognise the seal to be the seal of the hall, they will immediately release the person whom they may have detained.

3. Rice-junks, from any village or fort whatsoever, must give notice at the hall, where their papers or licenses will be viséd, for the prevention of delays." Mr Wade, who translated the above, was requested by Lord Elgin to put himself at once into communication with the Admiral, for the purpose of discovering, if possible, this Hall of British Peacemakers and Patriots, and visit with the punishment they deserved those who had so foully wronged, if not our fair name, at least their own unfortunate countrymen. Mr Wade proceeded with a force to a building indicated by some country people as the hall in question, where he found six persons in chains, and some papers, one of which stated, that orders had been received from the captain of the ship of English barbarians to look after the grain, and menacing any of the brethren who should presume to cut grain on their own account. It was found difficult to bring home the charge to any of the persons in the neighbourhood; a comprador, however (or man whose business it was to supply one of Her Majesty's ships in the river with provisions), was recognised and taken into custody in consequence. There is probably no other country in the world, but China, where an organisation upon so large a scale could have been formed, which would use for a protection the dreaded name of its country's enemy—display for its banner the symbols of peace and patriotism—and have for its object the plunder and spoliation of its neighbours.

Though there may be an absence of patriotism generally in China, patriots can always be found here by paying for them, as in other countries. Thus we discovered a spy located at Hong-Kong, whose papers we seized, and who kept a daily record of events there, and, at some risk to himself, sent Howqua full information of all the plans and rumours of plans current in Hong-Kong as to our movements. Nothing was too trivial for his report: the number of ships in harbour—the daily exercise of troops—Lord Elgin's personal appearance and reputed character—the extent of our losses in India, and the causes of the mutiny—all were minutely but frequently erroneously recorded, and forwarded by Howqua to Yeh. Some of the information was furnished by Americans resident at Hong-Kong, and some by Chinese in our employ.

Meanwhile General Straubenzee had succeeded General Ashburnham in the command-in-chief, and the prospect of active service seemed to infuse new life and energy into the feeble and wasted garrison of Hong-Kong. The one weak regiment of which it consisted was perpetually being inspected and reviewed, and exercised in camping and in rifle practice. The daily booming of artillery practice, added to the constant thundering of salutes from the ships, as Admirals or Plenipotentiaries paid or received visits of ceremony, began to prepare the Chinese mind at Hong-Kong for something more serious than the "talkee pigeon" to which for so many years they had been accustomed. We were now only waiting for the last detachment of marines; their arrival early in December rendered further delay unnecessary; and, on the 10th of that month, Mr Wade, accompanied by Mr Marques, proceeded with a flag of truce to Canton, and delivered the ultimata of the French and English Plenipotentiaries to a subordinate officer sent by Yeh to receive it.

In the communication which the British Minister addressed to the Imperial Commissioner upon this occasion, he alluded to the exceptional attitude of hostility and dislike which had always been maintained by the authorities and people of Canton in their intercourse with foreigners, as compared with the other ports; to their determined refusal to fulfil treaty-rights; to the constant quarrels which had arisen out of this unsatisfactory state of things; and to the barbarous way in which hostilities on the last occasion had been carried on by the Cantonese. As a proof that these complaints were not ill-founded, or confined to British subjects alone, his Excellency adverted to the recent capture of the Barrier Forts which had been forced upon the Americans, and to the fact that the French were prepared to join us in the determination to procure reparation for past, and security against future wrongs.

The execution of treaty-engagements, and compensation for losses sustained by British subjects, were the only demands the fulfilment of which was required from the Imperial Commissioner; and a *delai fatal* of two days, to date from the 12th instant, was accorded : during this period, the island of Honan was to be occupied as a material guarantee, and, at its expiry, in the event of non-compliance, Canton was to be taken. In consequence of the above intimation, Honan was successfully occupied on the 15th instant by 400 British marines and 150 French blue-jackets, no attempt at resistance having been made on the part of the inhabitants.

On the following day Yeh's answer reached Hong-Kong. That functionary denied that there was any difference in their disposition towards foreigners between the inhabitants of Canton and those of the other ports ; denied that any article existed in any treaty relative to the opening of Canton ;—though the question had been twice raised, he declared it to have been finally abandoned ; then put in a plea in traverse, to the effect that no treaty could force the people of Canton to do what they did not like ; and recommended Lord Elgin to adopt the policy pursued by Sir George Bonham, which might, as in his case, procure him the Order of the Bath. Yeh went on to recite the want of success which had attended the efforts of Sir George Bonham and Sir John Bowring, to open a more direct communication with the capital, as an instance of the impossibility of opposing the Emperor's will. He then discussed the merits of the Arrow case, warned the Ambassador against the occupation of Honan, as being likely to lead to hostilities, and concluded by assuring his Excellency that all existing difficulties might be satisfactorily arranged through the medium of a little amicable correspondence.

The following report of a conversation between his Celestial Majesty and an ex-judge of the Quang-tung province, will throw some light upon the policy of the Emperor and his Commissioner at Canton, upon the extent of their acquaintance with barbarian affairs, and upon the sources from whence they derived their information. This most interesting and curious document was among the papers found in Yeh's yamun subsequently to his capture, and it has since been translated by Mr Wade :—

Report of a Conversation between the Emperor Hien Fung and Ki Shuh-tsan, ex-Judge of Kwang-tung, in 1851.

[The following is translated from a memorandum forwarded to Yeh by a late Judge of Kwang-tung, named Ki Shuh-tsan, of his conversation with the Emperor Hien Fung, at the audience granted him, according to custom, on his return to Pekin at the end of his term of service.

In his "Chinese and their Rebellions," (page 123 to 136), Mr Thomas Meadows gives a similar conversation between the late Emperor and Pih-kwei, the present Governor of Kwang-tung, and then Judge of the Province. This took place in 1849, and it is remarkable that, towards the close of that audience, the late Emperor asks Pih-kwei if he is acquainted with the newly-appointed Judge, Ki Shuh-tsan, and volunteers a very favourable opinion of him as an honest and unaffected man.

A great deal of his correspondence with Yeh was found in the papers of the latter; amongst the rest the Memorandum here translated, and with it a note explaining that, besides the matter to which it relates, the Emperor had put questions regarding the contumacy of the literati of the district of Tung-kwan, who had lately manifested their dissatisfaction with the authorities by refusing to attend the examinations for degree, regarding the alleged misconduct of a military officer who had been very backward against some Kwang-tung outlaws; and, lastly, regarding the publication of the "Sing-li Tsing-i," the "Essence of Moral Philosophy," and of another work, reprints of which had been ordered by His Majesty, at the suggestion of a high official, for the regeneration of the age.

Ki Shuh-tsan was younger brother of Ki Tsiun-tsan, who died not long since, one of the four principal Secretaries of State.—T. F. W.]

(*Translation.*)

At my audience His Majesty questioned me very particularly respecting my official career, my settlement, my family, and my life before and after I came to be employed. I submit no copy of these questions to your Excellency, but confine myself to laying before you those which His Majesty condescended to ask concerning Kwang-tung affairs. His Majesty asked,—

Q. Are the English barbarians quiet at the present time, or the reverse?

A. They are so far quiet.

Q. Will no trouble be caused by their trade at some future period?

A. In the nature of barbarians there is much to suspect. A communication received from them two or three months ago, raised several questions in language of a menacing character.* Seu and Yeh perfectly understand their trickiness, and as it is only by being resolute and positive that they can deal with them, they employ no word in their replies either more or less than is sufficient fully to meet† what is said by the barbarians, and thus they are left without anything to rejoin.

Q. Do you know what they wrote about?

A. In their administration of barbarian affairs Seu and Yeh hold it important to be secret. As Governor-General and Governor they consult each other in confidence on all replies to be written (to barbarian letters). Neither your Majesty's servant, nor his fellow-commissioners, nor the intendants, although residing in the same city (as their Excellencies), are able to learn anything beforehand. If, as is sometimes the case, reference has to be made to

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* Questions they had no right to raise; *lit.*, put forth shoots not from the joint: a figure from the bamboo tree.

† To meet, to controvert, or to reprove.

Pih-kwei, the Commissioner of Finance, the reply drafted by him has again to be considered and approved by them; and on such occasions, when the question has been disposed of, Seu and Yeh are sure to communicate it to your servant, and to the rest as well. In former times, when barbarian affairs were in process of administration, news has reached barbarian quarters even before the event; but, nowadays, not even those who are constantly about Seu and Yeh can obtain information of the measures they are considering, and so the barbarians can ascertain nothing; while we, on the other hand, are accurately informed of all that affects their countries.

Q. How are you informed of what passes in their countries?

A. In foreign parts (*lit.*, in the outer seas) there are newspapers. In these everything that concerns any nation is minutely recorded, and these we have it in our power to procure. And as the barbarians cannot dispense with our people in the work of interpretation, Seu and Yeh manage to make their employés furnish them privately every month with all particulars. We are thus enabled to know everything that concerns them.

Q. How is it that persons in barbarian employ will, notwithstanding, furnish us with intelligence?

A. It merely costs a few hundred dollars more a-year to bestow rewards on them. For these they are well pleased to serve us. Then, again, if the news received from any one quarter appears unsatisfactory, there is more sent in from other quarters, and if the reports from different quarters agree, the information is of course entitled to full credit.

Q. Are their newspapers in their barbarian character, or in our Chinese character?

A. They are translations into Chinese.*

Q. Have you seen those papers?

A. In the campaign in Tsing-yuen last winter, Yeh † received some, which he gave me to look at.

Q. What did they say?

A. Your servant remembers one circumstance. The English were at war with Bengal.‡ A Bengal man-of-war wanted to pass through English territory to attack (*lit.*, trouble, have a row with) some other nation; the English authorities § refused her a passage. Both sides opened a fire, in which an English ship was sunk, and a large number of the managing heads (directors) killed. The Sovereign of their State assembled the chief persons (*lit.*, the head-eyes) in the Chamber where business is discussed (*sc.*, the House of Parliament). It was there proposed (by some) to speak reason to (or argue the point with) Bengal, but by others, to raise a force, and take satisfaction. Your servant has also been told by Yeh that, in the different letters which have come from the Sovereign of the State to Bonham, he has always been directed to trade with China in a friendly spirit, and not to be troublesome (or meddlesome). It is also said that, in reward for his administration of commercial intercourse, Bonham was presented by the Sovereign of the State with a decoration called "O-tá-pá" (Order of the Bath), a thing somewhat of the same sort as the ancient red gold-fish purse.* Bonham is well pleased with this. He parades it with pride; it will prevent him from making any more difficulties.

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* That is, the papers he has seen, as will appear directly.

† Yeh was then Governor of Kwang-tung, and was absent from Canton four months, endeavouring to put down outlaws, or rebels, in Tsing-yuen and Ning-teh.

‡ Birmah is probably meant.

§ *Lit.*, those of the English barbarians who manage their affairs. This is very likely a translation of the term "Directors of the East India Company."

Q. How did the barbarians put their alleged grievance in the letter received from them?

A. When your servant returned to Canton from the Tsing-yuen campaign, to lay down his office, he was told by Seu and Yeh, that in the third moon Bonham † had written to say that, as there was no great market for goods at two of the five ports, namely, in Cheh-kiang and Fuh-kien, he wanted to exchange the two ports in question for two others. Hang-chow and Soo-chow would both answer the purpose; but, if this could not be, Chin-kiang would do. If Chin-kiang was also impossible, his ships of war would be obliged to go to Tien-tsin. Seu and Yeh replied, that trade at the five ports having been long settled by Treaty, no change could be made; that, besides this, there was a fixed quantity of goods sold in China every year, the amount of which did not depend on the number of ports, more or less. Take the trade, they said, as it was before the five ports were opened, and has been since that event, and a calculation of the profits and losses of different parties will convince you (of this). If, with a good understanding existing between our two nations, your men-of-war attempt to go up to Tien-tsin, it is on your side that the quarrel will have been commenced; no blame will attach to us. Since this reply was sent, no letter has been received from them.

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* An ornament or decoration, of ancient date.

† He alludes to Sir George Bonham's letters, under instructions from the Foreign Office, written April 19, 1851, in which an exchange of ports was proposed.

Q. Who has charge of barbarian affairs besides Bonham?

A. Your servant has been told that Bonham is the Governor-in-chief (*lit.*, general head of the troops). Besides him there are Gutzlaff and Meadows. Gutzlaff was a practised machinator when he was in China before.* This time, it is said, the ruler of the State makes him confine his attention to commercial affairs, and does not allow him to meddle (with politics).

Q. Are the other trading nations on good terms with the English barbarians?

A. When the English barbarians gave trouble some time since (*sc.* 1839-42), different nations assisted them. In the sequel it is said the English barbarians became deeply indebted to other nations for shipping, the value of which they have been unable to recover from them; hence a good deal of misunderstanding. The other tribes are jealous, too, of the English barbarians for having carried their point (*sc.* with China); and so, although so far as outward appearances go, they trade together amicably, each party is, in fact, considering his own interests, and no cordial understanding is possible.

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* Mr Gutzlaff, then Chinese Secretary, returned to China in January 1851, and died in August.

Q. Are the French quiet in Kwang-tung?

A. The French continue to give no trouble in Kwang-tung. But it is said that, with the exception of trade, what they most prize is the teaching of their doctrine.

Q. What people practise their doctrine in general? Are there licentiates and graduates amongst them?

A. It is the common (*lit.*, the little people), who have no sense. All that they hear of the question is, that by the practice of virtue they may look for happiness,* and so the chances are that they are mystified by them. Licentiates and graduates, inasmuch as they have rather more reading and acquaintance with philosophy, which makes them respect themselves, are of course not to be so deluded. Your servant has never heard that such persons had embraced their doctrine.

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* Confucianism does not teach men to be virtuous, only in the hope of a reward. It is corrupt Buddhism, and other superstitions, which set the people propitiating good fortune.

Q. Have there been any prosecutions for the profession of the doctrine in Kwang-tung as well ? *

A. Your servant has heard that some time ago there were some. There had been none from the time of his arrival last year until the fourth moon of the present, when Yeh wrote to him, confidentially, to the effect that, in the district of Ying-teh, Li San-wan was reported to be playing the Great King of the Red men, † and that in his behalf certain recreant graduates, already degraded with vagabonds and others, had privily leagued themselves with yamun followers and soldiers, most of whom were professing the doctrine ; and he desired your servant to send a subordinate to make secret investigation. Your servant did send a subordinate, who went through the district from village to village in disguise, making inquiries for a month and more, but without any positive evidence of the fact. In the fifth moon your servant handed over his office to Tsui-tung, who again sent to make inquiry in every part of the Ung-yuen and Kiuh-kiang districts. When your servant left Canton the officer sent had not returned, and he cannot say what steps were subsequently taken.

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* His Majesty probably means "as well" as in Kwang-si, although little if any notice had as yet been taken by the Court of the troubles there. The word I translate "prosecution" includes the infliction of the penalty.

† The rebels have long been known as the "red head men," from their turbans. The "red" here used is, however, a different character.

Q. Is not the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven * also preached in Shan Si?

A. It is. When your servant was a licentiate, and superintending instruction in the district of Hung-tung, in Ping-yang Fu, the outlaw, Tsáu Shun, and others, murdered the authorities in the city of Chau, and took the city itself. Hung-tung being but thirty li from Chau, we were on the alert night and day, and one day a confidential despatch was received from the Prefect of Ping-yang, stating that in the street of the Shang-kia, in the city of Hung-tung, persons were propagating the doctrine, proselytising, preaching observances, and reciting canonical books; and desiring that, as they were very probably in league with the bad characters of Chau, they should be secretly arrested. On this, the District Magistrate, in co-operation with the military, seized a Chih-li man surnamed Wang, who was preaching the doctrine there, and on whose person was found a crucifix and some books of the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, all in European characters (*lit.*, characters of the western seas). After this, all persons teaching or professing the doctrine were proceeded against according to law.

Q. And what did their books say?

A. Your servant saw that, besides others, there were some books copied in our Chinese character, which were all about Jesus. Jesus was the person who was nailed on the cross. They purported to exhort people to be virtuous, to keep the heart good, and to do good actions. But there is great unanimity (or community of opinion) amongst the professors of the doctrine; and though, under ordinary circumstances, while people of no intelligence do no more than observe fasts in the hope of obtaining happiness, it can do no great harm, if, in the course of time, a single remarkable person should appear (amongst its professors), he would be almost certain to create trouble by inflaming and deluding (the public).

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* Here written "Tien tsu kiau," doctrine of the Grandfather of Heaven. "Tien chu kiau" is evidently meant. It is the style by which Christianity, as taught by the Romanist missionaries, is known.

Q. Have you ever seen the barbarian buildings at Hong Kong?

A. Your servant has not seen them. Those in the foreign factories on the Canton river he has seen, but he has never been into them.

Q. Have you seen any barbarians or barbarian ships?

A. Your servant has seen a Flowery Flag (*sc.* American) steamer on the Canton river. There were barbarians on board the vessel, all dressed in white, both men and women. But she was too far off your servant's vessel for him to see them well.

Q. What nation is the Flowery Flag?

A. The American. The trade of the nation is very great; it is very rich and powerful, and yet not troublesome.

Q. How is it that America is rich and powerful, and yet not troublesome?

A. As a general rule, the outer barbarians trade, because their nature is so covetous. If one of them breaks the peace (makes trouble), the prosperity of the other's trade is marred. Thus the English are at this moment beggared;[*] but if they were to break the peace, it is not on their own trade alone that injury would be inflicted: other nations are therefore certain to object to any outrageous proceeding on their part. Were they to commence a disturbance, the Americans would certainly be the last to assist them.

Q. Why would not the Americans assist them?

A. Your servant has been told that the Americans have business relations of great importance with Wu Sung-yau (How-qua), formerly a hong merchant of Quang-tung; indeed, that they have had money of Wu. Every movement of the English barbarians is certain to be privately communicated to the family of Wu by the Americans, and Wu Sung-yau thereupon makes his private report to Seu and Yeh, who take precautionary measures accordingly. Thus, last year, it was by a communication from the Americans that it was known that a man-of-war of the English barbarians was coming to Tien-tsin (the Peiho). Not that this shows any sincere friendship for us on the part of the Americans: it was simply that their desire for gain is strong, and that they were afraid that their trade would be disturbed by (the act of) the English.[†]

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[*] And therefore, he means, not likely to go to war.

[†] The remainder of this most curious and interesting document is to be found in the Blue Book. I have been induced to make this

In the absence of the Shannon, the Furious had been placed at Lord Elgin's disposal. Her very light draught of water rendered her a much more available ship for the purpose than the Shannon; while Captain Osborn spared no effort or personal sacrifice to fit her up as comfortably as possible for the accommodation of the mission. On the 17th we all embarked on board this good ship, which was destined to be our floating home for the following eighteen months, and proceeded up the river to Blenheim Reach, where Baron Gros with the French fleet were already assembled. It appeared that the communication of Yeh to the French Ambassador was couched in the same stubborn and unyielding tone as that which he had addressed to Lord Elgin; it was therefore determined, at a conference held on board the Audacieuse, that in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the Imperial Commissioner's replies, the matter should be placed in the hands of the naval and military authorities, but that a few days' grace should be allowed after the expiry of the *delai fatal*, so as to afford some opportunity to the inhabitants of escaping.

I took advantage of the return of the Admiral up the river, to accompany him to Honan. Three miles after passing Macao Fort, the former limit of our explorations up the river, we rounded the point of

extract here, because it illustrates in a remarkable manner the position we held in the eyes of the Chinese authorities, and the views by which they were influenced in their dealings with us.

Honan Island, and the scene became novel and interesting. The most striking feature in it was the entire absence on the part of the Chinese of any preparations to meet the attack, which they must have been anticipating; much less did they offer any active resistance to the occupation of the Pack-houses in Honan by our troops, or molest the men-of-war which had been quietly moored in front of the city wall, within 150 yards of the guns upon it. The instincts of self-preservation seemed to extend only to the floating population, which had simultaneously disappeared on the arrival of the ships, and taken refuge in the numerous creeks with which the country is intersected. Still, even these had not wholly vanished, and every now and then I was startled by seeing a two-storied mansion, with verandahs and a tiled roof, which appeared to be the last house of a street, deliberately detach itself from its neighbours, and float complacently down the stream to some secure aquatic retreat. In this manner about half a million of people had moved to other waters; how they managed to subsist when they got there remains a mystery. Probably they adopted the Peace and Patriotic line.

The point of Honan Island was admirably adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. The pack-houses were spacious oblong buildings of solid construction, extending from the water's edge back to a narrow lane. On the opposite side of this was a row of mean cottages, and in rear of them an extensive mud flat separated our troops from a populous Chinese suburb. Many of these packhouses contained tea, sweatmeats, and other articles of export, which were being rapidly transported by Chinese coolies, under the superintendence of their owners. The ginger, cumquots, and other preserves, often, however, proved too strong a temptation for our men; and their smeared faces and sticky fingers gave indisputable evidence that they had made the jars pay toll as they passed. In the evening, when the lofty warehouses were lit up by numerous large fires made upon the stone floor, round which were collected groups of hard-visaged men, the scene was animated and picturesque, and would have been by no means of a consolatory character to the Chinese authorities, had they been there to witness it.

On the following day I visited a party of Engineers engaged in erecting a mortar battery on the Dutch Folly. A large crowd were collected on the city bank of the river watching their operations, and men were stationed as look-outs, on stages erected for the purpose above the roofs of the houses. I ascended one of the trees on the little island, and looked over the yamun of the Imperial Commissioner, not a hundred and fifty yards distant. Canton presents a most ragged appearance from this point: the river bank was strewn with the debris of houses, the result of the bombardment and fires of the previous year; the site of the foreign factory was covered with heaps of rubbish; half-demolished houses reared gaunt gables above their prostrate neighbours ; and miserable hovels, which enterprising paupers had erected upon spots too exposed for the taste of the legitimate owner, only added to the dilapidated aspect of the town. Nevertheless, people passed briskly to and fro along the river margin, and were ferried across under the guns of our ships. I counted from one of these, the Cruizer, seven guns on the city wall, the muzzles of which were directed so as to cover her deck. In the afternoon Lord Elgin passed the town in a gunboat, and was as much struck by the desolate appearance of the city, as by the apathetic indifference of its inhabitants.

On the 21st, being the day before the expiry of the delay accorded in the ultimatum, a conference was held at Whampoa by the Plenipotentiaries and naval and military Commanders-in-Chief, relative to the place of attack and the preliminary arrangements. On the 24th it was intimated to Yeh by the allied Plenipotentiaries, that, the delay having expired, they had called upon the naval and military Commanders to act, and Lord Elgin stated that he " reserved to himself the right to make on behalf of the British Government such additional demands as the altered condition of affairs, produced by the Imperial Commissioner's refusal to accede to terms of accommodation, may seem in his eyes to justify." At the same time Yeh also received a summons from the allied Commanders-in-Chief, stating that it was their intention to attack the town at the expiration of forty-eight hours, if it was not surrendered within that time. In a communication addressed in reply to Lord Elgin's despatch, the Imperial Commissioner recurred to the Arrow case, and adverted at length to the points discussed in his former letter, without manifesting the slightest alteration in his tone, or in the tenor of his sentiments generally. Meanwhile, for many days past, Mr Parkes had been occupied in posting up proclamations, both at Honan and along the river face of the city, at considerable personal risk, advising the inhabitants to leave the city during the approaching bombardment ; but the very indifference with which they collected round the placards, and the contempt for them they occasionally manifested, by tearing them down, only proved how insensible they were to the coming danger, and how hopeless it was to expect that these warnings would produce any effect.

Up to this time we had been anchored at Whampoa, close under Dane's Island, and our principal amusement was rambling over that picturesque spot: though not above five miles in circumference, the island was broken into hill and dale and fertile glens, where a rural population lived peaceably amid all the troubles, and seemed utterly indifferent as to the fate of their provincial city. Indeed, many of them who had suffered severely by the interruption of trade, rather hoped for our success than otherwise ; and in one of the villages we met a man who had formerly lived at Whampoa, and spoke a little English, who assured us that he expressed a sentiment very common among his countrymen when he said,—"You takee Canton chop chop, my no gotchie money." He moreover told us that the army had not been paid for two months, and were very discontented, and that the authorities were really as well convinced as he was of our power to take the city. It was not, however, prudent to enter indiscriminately into villages. Although at Dane's Island we found the people well disposed, some members of the French Embassy had not been so well received on Whampoa Island, and had not found it safe to extend their rambles very far from the ships: under all circumstances it was desirable to take our evening walks armed with revolvers.

We celebrated Christmas Day by taking up the position which the Furious was destined to occupy during the remainder of our stay in the river, with the view of getting as near Canton as her draught of water would admit. Captain Osborn pushed her past the Barrier Forts until her nose was buried in the mud; and from her main-top a panoramic view was obtained of the city, and that portion of the surrounding country which was shortly to be the scene of the military and naval operations. The Primauguet, in which Baron Gros had taken up his temporary habitation, was anchored immediately astern of us. Though by the terms of the summons the bombardment ought to have commenced on the 26th, preparations were not sufficiently completed until the 28th. It will thus be seen that every opportunity was afforded to the authorities to yield, and to the people to provide for their own safety, and the security of their property.

CHAPTER VII.

LANDING OF THE TROOPS—ADVANCE ON LIN'S FORT—TREACHEROUS MODE OF WARFARE—CAPTURE OF LIN'S FORT—ATTACK OF THE BRAVES—POSITION FOR THE NIGHT—THE BOMBARDMENT IS CONTINUED—DEATH OF CAPTAIN BATE—SKIRMISH WITH BRAVES—ESCALADE OF THE WALLS OF CANTON—ASPECT OF THE CITY—SCENE FROM MAGAZINE HILL—CAPTURE OF THE CITY—CAPTURE OF GOUGH'S FORT—CHINESE LOOTING PARTIES—TARTAR GARRISON OF CANTON—CONDITION OF THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS—EXPLOSION OF A MAGAZINE.

On the 27th we were able to perceive, from our post of observation, Major Clifford, Quartermaster-General, landing with a party composed of two companies of the 59th, under Major Burmister, with the Engineers to prepare stages for the disembarkation of the troops and guns on the following morning. The outposts, which were kept by the 59th, and extended for about half a mile into the interior, were unmolested during the night. In consequence of the shallowness of the water in the creek, the landing was fixed for nine o'clock on the following day, that being the earliest hour at which the tide would serve for our gunboats. The French, however, being in ships' boats, reached the landing-stages first, and requested General Straubenzee to allow them to disembark, to which he acceded. Before their disembarkation was completed, the rest of the 59th and artillery arrived in the gunboats, and as soon as the 59th were landed, they and the French Naval Brigade moved up towards Lin's Fort, the original party under Major Bannister being in advance. As I observe in the French papers that our gallant allies have claimed some credit for being the first to land on the 28th, it is only fair to state the amount of risk they incurred, in landing at a spot which had been in our possession since the previous day.

From our exalted position we had a splendid view of the commencement of the bombardment, which began shortly after daylight, and continued without intermission for twenty-seven hours. Ten o'clock was fixed as the hour for the landing of the bluejackets of the Furious under Captain Osborn ; and I was glad to avail myself, by accompanying him, of the opportunity afforded of being an eye-witness, under the most favourable circumstances, of all the operations.

Thanks to the exertions of the Sappers, a very fair road had been made through the village near the landing-place. After passing through it, we met a wounded man of the 59th, and two wounded men of the French Naval Brigade,—the first evidence of any active resistance having been offered to our progress. These men had been wounded in a slight skirmish which had resulted in the precipitate retreat of the

Chinese. Meeting Loch, who was temporarily attached to the General's staff, in the village, I pushed on with him as quickly as possible to the front. As we proceeded, the country became very broken ; small hillocks covered with graves were surrounded by dry paddy-fields, by which their slopes were sometimes terraced. It was just the country for skirmishing in ; and had not our enemy been contemptible, they might have harassed us seriously as we advanced. As it happened, what little danger there was arose rather from a species of treachery than from open warfare. Captain Hackett of the 59th, while carrying a message, was suddenly surrounded in the village above mentioned, only a short time after we had left it, and his head was cut off within sight of his own men, who succeeded in killing one of the assassins, and capturing the other. This man was brought up to headquarters, and hung the same evening. The man of the 59th we had met, told us he had been shot from behind a hedge after he had passed it. Indeed it was very difficult to know whom to regard as enemies, and whom to ignore as such. The hills were crowded with spectators watching our proceedings ; yet it was only natural to suppose that every villager was an enemy at heart, though they did not venture on open warfare, or seem to anticipate our considering them in the light of foes.

We found the front about a mile from the village, and, when we arrived, the French and English admirals and General Straubenzee were seated at luncheon in a grave. The advance had pushed on so rapidly in pursuit of the retreating Chinese, that there was a pause in the operations in consequence of the guns and ammunition not having come up. Moreover, we were close to Lin's Fort, the capture of which it had been arranged should complete the first day's operations. As the French had a light field-piece with them, it was agreed that they should open upon Lin's Fort from a hillock within easy range, while the 59th should occupy a joss-house to the right, from which they could reach the embrasures of the Fort with their Enfield rifles. To the joss-house, which was deserted, we accordingly repaired, and, screened by the wall, amused ourselves by trying to repress the harmless fire which the garrison kept up at intervals. When our field-piece came up, and a shell burst near them, these brave defenders unhesitatingly evacuated the fort,—a fact as patent to our allies as it was to ourselves. When the banner of the last man had disappeared behind the rising ground beyond, the French rushed in ; and it must be admitted that there was no reason why we should not have done the same. It was an operation entirely devoid of risk for either party ; but to our allies is due the credit of their superior quickness of perception. Indeed, so little of this quality had some of our own men, that they rushed at the fort with loud shouts, apparently mistaking the tricolor, which waved from its walls, for a Chinese banner. As the French sailors often carry small tricolor flags in the pockets of their spacious trousers, their conquests are rapidly proclaimed. Upon this occasion the leading marine, having been provident enough to supply himself with a national "pavilion," sprung upon the walls flag in hand, and, shouting "Vive l'Amiral !—l'Empereur !—la France !—l'Angleterre !" all in a breath, created an intense amount of enthusiasm, and was embraced by his admiral, and invested with the legion of honour on the spot.

The fort was a small circular building, fitted for the reception of about 200 men. We entered and inspected it, and from the parapet obtained a good view of the city walls, about 600 yards distant. As soon as the Chinese perceived us in possession, the guns from the city opened upon us, but without much effect. Meantime the naval brigade and marines had been coming up, and extending far to the right, over undulating ground covered with graves and clumps of wood. From Lin's Fort we had an excellent view of a skirmish in which they engaged with some braves, who now appeared for the first time in some force. These latter were soon driven back to the base of the hill on which Gough's Fort is situated, but only to advance again as our men retired. Indeed, as a considerable distance separated the combatants throughout, the Chinese seemed to gain confidence from this mode of warfare, and began to collect in great numbers behind a small village, from which they made a grand advance, with quantities of banners waving, and great yelling and vapouring, throwing forward skirmishers in pairs carrying gingalls, making contemptuous gestures at their enemies, and indulging in divers antics, for which their leader, a tall man in blue, who carried a huge sword, was especially conspicuous. He was followed by a standard-bearer capering along ten yards in advance of the crowd. This brave army ultimately succeeded in occupying a straggling wood, and in ensconcing themselves in the horse-shoe graves with which the hill-sides abounded, and which formed natural rifle-pits. Above these, with their heads well under cover, they defiantly waved flags, and managed, with their gingalls, to wound some of our men, as they dodged from one grave to another. The hill presented somewhat the appearance of an animated rabbit-warren. Two or three shells, however, judiciously dropped amongst them from Lin's Fort, soon started them from their hiding-places ; and the gentleman in blue displayed even more agility in hopping back again at the head of his army, than he had in his advance.

As this was the position we intended to occupy for the night, the remainder of the afternoon was spent either in replying to the guns from the city with our field-pieces, or in checking the advance of the braves whenever they ventured to attempt to reoccupy their old position. Our loss during the day's operations had been trifling. With the exception of poor Hackett, we had not a man killed, though, I believe, two or three afterwards died of the wounds they had received from gingall balls. The scene had been one of considerable interest and novelty, if not of fighting. As none of the staff were mounted, and the distances were great, one or two of us, who were amateurs, were glad to find that we could be of use in carrying messages. Our headquarters for the night was a joss-house in rear of Lin's Fort, which was occupied by an allied force, while in the bamboo groves to the right the marines and naval brigade were encamped. Our slumbers were presided over by gods and goddesses, but unfortunately were a good deal disturbed by the groans of some wounded men, who had been brought in to the verandah. Long before daylight on the following day, we were once more on the alert, and scrambled in the dark over the rough ground to Lin's Fort, the walls of which were lit up by the lurid glare of numerous fires of our men, who were encamped round it.

Meantime the bombardment was maintained with unabated vigour, and as I listened to the whistle of the round-shot, and watched the meteor-like shells of our mortar-battery circling through the air, or the flaming track of the rushing rocket, the old nights of Sevastopol were forcibly recalled to my recollection.

As day broke the enemy once more opened fire upon us, and by this time the troops were on the move in all directions. The right wing was advancing upon a small hamlet, with a view of occupying a large building in it known as the Asylum of Indigent Females. The French, with the 59th, were taking up their position to the left, while we moved across the broken country to the Asylum. The enemy kept up as brisk a fire as they could, but apparently were incapable of directing their aim. They succeeded, however, in inflicting one irreparable loss upon us upon reaching the village. The General and his staff, accompanied by Captain Bate, proceeded to reconnoitre the walls, preparatory to bringing up the scaling-ladders. As they approached to within thirty yards of the walls, they sought shelter from the sharp matchlock-fire which was opened upon them, behind a mud house. It was necessary, however, that the ditch should be inspected, and it was in the performance of this dangerous service that Captain Bate, who undertook it in company with Captain Man, R.E., was killed.

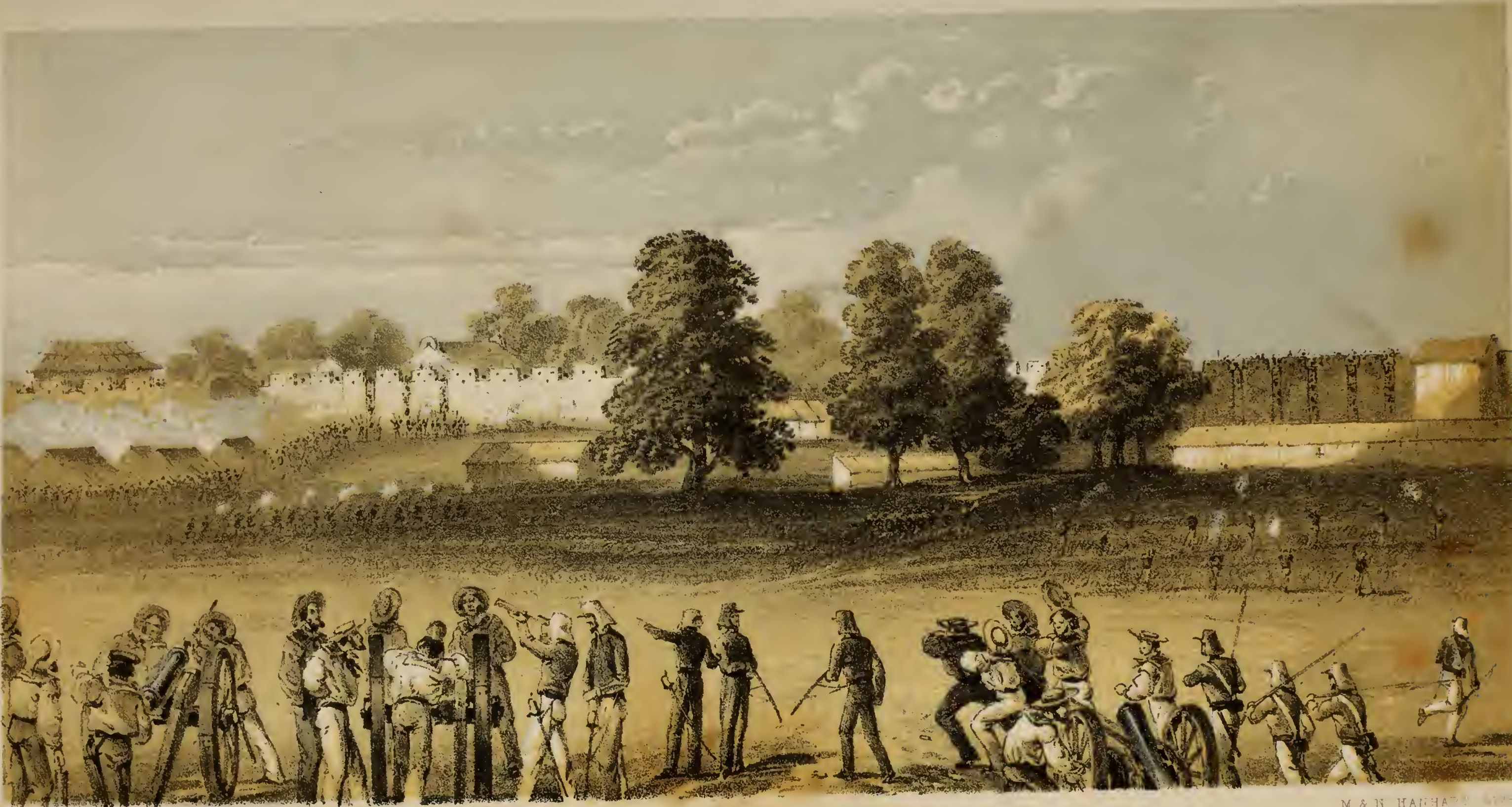
Nine o'clock was the hour at which it had been arranged with the naval authorities that the firing should cease; it was not yet eight, and we were already under the walls. The shot and shell from our ships, which were at this time principally directed at the east gate, and that part of the wall opposite to which we then were, constantly fell near our own men: the angle of the Asylum was blown up by one shell, another burst among a party of the 59th, killing one man and wounding five.

The shot of the enemy was not apparently directed upon our men, or turned to any one point. It fell in distant cabbage-gardens to the right, whistled high over head to the left, seriously damaged unoffending trees in rear, and was very disagreeable for amateurs, for no one spot was safer than another; feeble rockets, barbed as arrows, thudded about, and fizzed for a moment in the grass, and the grasshopper buzz of a gingall ball was occasionally audible. Upon our occupying the village, the population, chiefly consisting of old men and "indigent" females, with goat's feet, whose home ought to have been the Asylum, came tottering out, prostrating themselves on the ground and beating their breasts; dragging little children after them, they stumbled and hobbled over the rough ground among our men, by whom of course they were in no way molested.

All this time the Land Transport Corps, composed of Chinamen, were employed in bringing up ammunition to the front, to be used against their own countrymen, with a reckless disregard of gingall balls, and an absence of patriotism truly edifying.

Meantime, a large body of braves coming round the north angle, attacked our extreme right, and Colonel Holloway's brigade of Marines was extended in skirmishing order to repel them. A pretty hot fire was also being kept up on the embrasures by the rifle company of a regiment of Madras Native Infantry, part of the 59th Regiment, and by a rocket battery of the Marine Artillery, under Lieutenant Studdert. From the hillock upon which this battery was placed, an admirable view was obtained of the city wall, and the scene of operations generally; and I took advantage of a few quiet moments in a grave, before the order for the assault was given, to make a sketch. Some heavy guns in the foreground, manned by blue-jackets under Lieutenant Beamish, were dropping shot and shell into Magazine Hill. As we had now been for some time exposed more or less to the fire of our own ships, and the French were apparently bent upon escalading before the time, the order was given for the French and the 59th to escalade, which they did simultaneously, Major Luard being the first man on the walls, closely followed by a French officer and Colonel Graham of the 59th: Lieutenant Stewart, Royal Engineers, however, would have disputed this honour with the foremost, had not his ladder given way. Where so little honour was to be gained by anybody, as at the siege of Canton, it is hardly fair for either party to appropriate the entire modicum. There can be no doubt that had there been anybody on the walls at the time and place at which they were scaled, the rivalry would not have been the less keen between our allies and ourselves ; as it was, the enemy deserted the embrasures the moment the ladders were placed against them, and not a shot was fired at us from the time the walls were scaled to the capture of Magazine Hill, except from our own ships.

The scaling party on the right, not knowing that the left had assaulted before the time, were necessarily not upon the walls for some moments afterwards. The ladders were soon swarming with marines and blue-jackets, like bees clustering into a hive. Then



[illegible] M & N HANHART LITH.

THE STORMING OF CANTON

we raced along the wall to Magazine Hill; Canton, silent as a city of the dead, lying at our feet, with here and there a corpse stretched in some narrow lane, to give a character of reality to the supposition. Whenever a luckless Chinaman was seen scampering over the country to the right, or the flutter of a bit of blue cloth indicated a human being in the streets to our left, dozens of Minie bullets showered round the devoted object—seldom, it must be admitted, striking it. I observed one man dodging about among the graves for at least a quarter of an hour, making short dashes from one grave to another, amid a storm of bullets, just as one runs from shelter to shelter in a shower of rain.

The city wall was about 25 feet in height, and 20 feet broad; the guns were of small calibre, and wretched workmanship. A little beyond Magazine Hill, the Chinese made a stand upon the walls, and a short and rather sharp combat took place at close quarters, in which Lord Gilford was wounded, and the General himself so hard pressed as to be compelled to shoot a man with his revolver. At the same time the enemy opened a fire upon us from some guns, planted upon the walls about 200 yards distant, which were not immediately silenced.

The scene from Magazine Hill at this time was peculiar and exciting: 200 feet below lay the city, mapped out before us; a vast expanse of roofs, a labyrinth of intricate lanes, in a vain attempt to follow the windings of which the eye was bewildered;

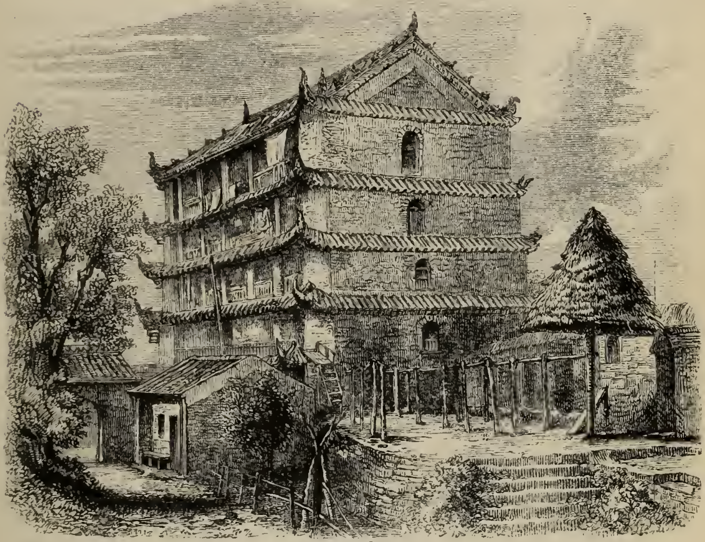
—a pagoda here, there a many-storied temple, or the successive roofs of a yamun embowered in luxuriant foliage, above which towered a pair of mandarin poles, —beyond all, the tapering masts of our own ships. Such were the principal features of the view in a southerly direction; but its striking element was that impressive silence, that absence of all movement on the part of a population of a million and a half, that lay as though entombed within the city walls, whose very pulsation seemed arrested by the terrors of the night before, and whose only desire, if they could think at all, appeared to be, that the bare fact of their existence should be forgotten by the conquerors.

This deathlike stillness upon one side, was rendered all the more remarkable by the hubbub which was going on all round. On the right the Tartar troops, on the western walls, were replying with some vigour to the fire of a field-piece we had now brought to bear upon them; on the left the wall was still swarming with our men, who had just scaled and were crowding up. In rear the two blue-jacket forts were partially in flames, and we were completing the business with a few rockets from Magazine Hill; while from the same spot we had just opened a fire upon Gough's Fort, still occupied by the enemy. As it was not yet ten o'clock, a good morning's work had been already accomplished. The Marines and French had turned to the right on surmounting the wall; but the 59th had been told off to take an opposite direction, and secure our position on the extreme left.

Having seen that Magazine Hill was satisfactorily in our possession, I accompanied General Straubenzee, who returned along the wall to the southern face. Here we found the 59th engaged in a little desultory rifle practice with the enemy, who were picking our men off the walls from the tops of their houses: while we were there, Lieutenant Bowen of the 59th received a wound, of which he afterwards died, from a matchlock. General Straubenzee, therefore, withdrew the men to an angle in the wall, which afforded good shelter, and where a building above a gateway offered some accommodation for the men. We found a wounded old Chinese warrior lying here, whom we revived with a little brandy-and-water, but from whom we could not obtain much information, though he was evidently puzzled at being humanely treated. This point was made the advanced post for the night.

As the capture of the city might now be said to be complete, I took advantage of the company of Captain Hall and Mr Parkes, who, with a strong escort, were going to open up a new line of communication with the river, to return to the Furious. The east gate was barricaded on the inside; upon forcing it open we found an arc of wall in which was another gate, and which formed a sort of loop upon the main wall, enclosing a small collection of houses. On bursting these open, a number of frightened inhabitants, crouching in corners, immediately made their presence known by prayers and supplications for mercy. As one of these was an eating-house, with a large copper full of ready-made tea, we refreshed ourselves preparatory to new labours. Clearing these houses of inhabitants, we opened the next gate, and proceeded along the narrow streets of the suburbs, all of which were deserted, and the shops and houses shut. Still we could not be secure against a sudden attack from the numerous narrow lanes and dark corners in which the suburbs abound. Crossing the open parade-ground, we made our way unmolested to the river near French Folly, and I reached the Furious at one o'clock.

At three o'clock the same afternoon Gough's Fort was taken, and our right was advanced from Magazine Hill to the North Gate. In performing this operation we met with some resistance; and throughout the night our advanced post, which was composed of blue-jackets under the command of Sir Robert Maclure and Captain Sherard Osborn, was a good deal harassed by the Tartar troops occupying this portion of the city. These soldiers had throughout exhibited considerably more courage than the Chinese braves. Mr Parkes subsequently found the return of their killed and wounded, which was stated to be 450. The right and left advanced-posts were held by our men. The French troops principally occupied the five-storied pagoda—a commodious and substantial building situated upon the wall: as a Chinese military position, it had suffered a good deal from our shot, but was nevertheless convertible into a most roomy and comfortable barrack. It is a very good specimen of Chinese architecture. The annexed woodcut is taken from a photograph, for which I am indebted to Dr Forbes of the "Cruizer."



Five-Storied Pagoda.

On the following day Lord Elgin proceeded up the river to the Actæon, then lying off the Dutch Folly; and Mr Wade and I started off for the front with a communication from His Excellency for the General. We found the fighting over, and the city walls in complete possession of the allies. Thus, a most important result had been achieved with a trifling loss to ourselves, and in a manner calculated to produce a deep impression upon a population whose habitual insolence to foreigners had rendered it extremely desirable that they should be made aware of the power we possessed of inflicting a severe punishment for insults, whether offered by the authorities or the people. The bombardment, which had lasted for twenty-seven hours, at the rate of nearly a hundred rounds per ship, was terrific in aspect, and in its effects upon certain portions of the city, but by no means so destructive of human life as might have been expected. Directed principally against particular gates or angles of the wall, or against Magazine Hill, few shot or shell fell in the heart of the town; and the people soon found out the safe corners.

It was afterwards reported by Chinamen that many women and children had been crushed to death by the crowds swaying to and fro under the influence of panic in the narrow streets; but we have no evidence of this. From the thin sprinkling of dead bodies I saw in the quarters most destroyed by our fire, and from the reports of others, I think Mr Cooke's estimate of 200 (not including the Tartar garrison) is a very fair approximation as regards the whole number killed. At the same time it may be remarked that, so far as the actual capture of the city was concerned, the bombardment for more than a day and a night was quite unnecessary: from the feeble resistance offered to us, it was evident that the walls might have been stormed as surely, if our cannonade had only lasted for three hours instead of twenty-seven. Indeed, during the whole of this time only two shots were fired upon our ships in the river from guns upon the walls. But the nature of the resistance may best be judged of by the list of killed and wounded, and the unusually small proportion which the former bears to the latter. In the entire British force, consisting of nearly 5000 men, the result of the two days' operations was eight killed and seventy-one wounded, including among the former one killed by our own shot, and one waylaid and murdered by villagers.. The French, out of a force of 900, lost only two men killed and thirty wounded. Doubtless the mortality would have been greater had the attack been made from the west side, on which they were prepared for us, under the impression that we should adopt the plan of attack of 1842; but, under all circumstances, we should always have retained those advantages which result from such an immeasurable superiority of weapons, military skill, and *morale,* as would render failure in any military operation in China inexcusable, except under very peculiar and exceptional circumstances.

On our way to the city I observed, in the suburb, large looting parties, composed of Chinese blackguards, ransacking the houses, and looking out for stragglers from our men, with whom they occasionally exchanged shots. They preferred, however, to be left alone, and kept as much out of sight as possible. At one place a pawnbroker's tower was being thoroughly gutted; a party on the top were engaged in overhauling the contents, and throwing over to their comrades below rich furs and brocaded silks; nor had we time, as we passed rapidly on, to interrupt them in their deeds of spoliation. It was already becoming evident that the work of administering the government of a large city, containing a million and a half of inhabitants, so ready, upon the first opportunity, to prey upon each other, would be by no means an easy task for foreigners totally unused to, and comparatively unacquainted with, the system by which vast urban populations were governed and controlled, and only in one or two instances able to speak their language.

A great part of the suburb had been destroyed, so as not to afford shelter to thieves or assassins upon the immediate line of communication. The East Gate, at which we entered, was occupied by Colonel Graham and the 59th; and on our arrival at the front, we found that the General had just left Magazine Hill to make a circuit of the city walls. We therefore took advantage of a strong French escort to follow him. As we passed along the west wall flanking the Tartar quarter, the people were collected in groups gazing at us with interest, but with an air of profound respect and submission: when we warned them to disperse, they at once obeyed. At one guard we found a Tartar officer, whom we dislodged, and replaced with a small French guard. At the western gate we were informed by the English officer who had been on guard there for some hours, that great crowds had been pouring out of the town, but that when assured of our pacific intentions, they had ceased to manifest alarm or leave the town. The few persons with whom Mr Wade conversed, announced themselves to be Tartar soldiers, and presented a much finer appearance than the Chinese. The Tartar population of Canton has been established there for a century, and originally came from Kirin, in Manchouria. They were sent to this city to overawe and maintain order amongst the proverbially lawless population of the province. Numerous little white flags fluttered from sticks upon the wall and on the neighbouring houses, to avert further hostilities on the part of the barbarians. As we turned along the south wall, we observed terrible evidence of the destructive effects of the bombardment. The south gate had been totally destroyed by fire, and a broad scar of burnt houses extended towards the centre of the city. Yeh's yamun was a heap of ruins ; the wall behind it was battered and breached, and every house-roof was perforated with shot-holes.

Generally the habitations partook more of the nature of hovels, than the residences of the respectable citizens of one of the most important and flourishing mercantile emporia in the empire. Decidedly the handsomest part of the town was in the neighbourhood of the Confucian Hall, near the south gate. Here some gaudily-painted yamuns and joss-houses reared their fantastic gables amongst the massive foliage of the large trees which were planted in the court-yards.

The next day (the last of the year) Lord Elgin landed himself, and ascended, by means of a scaling-ladder, the south-east angle of the wall, at the point where it was destined to be levelled so as to form the permanent line of communication. In the short piece of suburb intervening between it and the river, sentries had been placed; and the houses were being demolished, after the inhabitants had been allowed to remove their goods and chattels. A canal entered the city at this point, passing under the wall, in which there was a water-gate. Up to this time our military position was confined to the walls alone. No European had yet entered the city, but it looked calm and tranquil as ever. The alarm of the inhabitants appeared to have subsided. It was reported that the city authorities were still exercising their functions, and that Yeh had taken up his abode with one of them, and was in innocent expectation that fresh overtures touching our treaty right to enter the city were about to be made to him.

An unfortunate accident occurred to swell the list of killed and wounded, in the course of the afternoon. Some blue-jackets, employed in clearing out a magazine, allowed a spark to fall among the powder, and an explosion ensued which caused the death of five men, and severely injured twelve more.

Thus closed the year 1857, so eventful in the history of British arms throughout the East, and thus closed with it the reign of the Imperial Commissioner, Yeh.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW-YEAR'S DAY, 1858—EXPLORATION OF THE CITY BY THE ALLIES—CAPTURE OF YEH—YEH'S MEMORIAL TO PEKIN—BEHAVIOUR OF YEH IN CAPTIVITY—CONFERENCE RELATIVE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CANTON—PLANS PROPOSED—SCHEME ULTIMATELY ADOPTED—INSTALLATION OF PIHKWEI—LORD ELGIN'S ADDRESS TO PIHKWEI—PIHKWEI'S REPLY—INSTITUTION OF A CIVIL TRIBUNAL—MORAL AND POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE OCCUPATION OF CANTON.

NEW-YEAR'S DAY, 1858, was celebrated by a formal procession of the Ambassadors to Magazine Hill, for the purpose of taking possession of the city: the ships in the river were all dressed out in flags, rainbow fashion; royal salutes startled the timid inhabitants into a belief that the bombardment was recommencing; and indeed the incessant booming of cannon was an appropriate introduction to the regime under which they were now to be governed.

For the next three days, the troops were engaged in hutting themselves on the walls, a proceeding which was rendered the more necessary by the incessant rain to which they were subjected. In the course of certain interesting investigations into the personal property of the inhabitants, which are considered legitimate in the case of a captured city, some of the streets more immediately adjoining the walls were explored, and in most cases found deserted. Mr Parkes, however, passed through the centre of the town with a strong guard, and met with no incivility from the people. In the mean time a memorial was sent in from the Governor of the city, Pihkwei, and some of the other civic functionaries, stating their readiness to memorialise Pekin in any sense we might choose to dictate, protesting against the conduct of Yeh throughout, and assuring the Ministers that they had never been consulted by the Imperial Commissioner upon those subjects which had involved the safety of their city.

On the 5th of January, the seizure of the Imperial Commissioner was determined upon, and at half-past 7 o'clock A.M. the city was entered at different points by three English and one French column: from the plans of the city in our possession, and information already received, the position of the principal yamuns was known. The French, proceeding along the great east and west street, known as the "Avenue of Benevolence and Love," from the westward, reached the large yamun belonging to the Tartar General, in which they captured that high functionary, and were shortly afterwards joined by General Straubenzee; whilst Colonel Walsh's battalion of marines had been to the yamun of the Governor, and made prisoner of Pihkwei, and thither the naval and military authorities proceeded. In the mean time Mr Parkes had received information that Yeh was in a library not far distant, but on arriving there he found the house empty, with the exception of an old man who was reading in the garden. From this venerable student it was discovered that Yeh had been absent for five days ; but the fact was at last extorted from him, that the Imperial Commissioner had sought refuge in the house of the Tartar Lieut.-General. Accompanied by an escort of a hundred blue-jackets under Captain Key, Mr Parkes at once repaired to this yamun, the doors of which they found closed ; upon breaking them open and rushing forward, an old man in a mandarin's coat and cap threw himself before them, stating that he was Yeh. This was the Lieut.-General himself, who was at once thrust aside, as an impostor ; and as people were heard escaping through the back entrances, Captain Key hurried in that direction, and observing a stout man in a narrow passage, resembling a portrait he had seen of the Imperial Commissioner, threw his arms round the neck of the fugitive, and proclaimed him his prisoner.

A large collection of the archives of the Imperial Commissioner was seized here, and proved a most valuable and interesting assortment of papers. Some of the private correspondence which had passed between Canton and Pekin, on barbarian affairs, was extremely curious, while it proved that, even after more than a century's trade with China, a long and disastrous war concluded by a commercial treaty, and constant intercourse with the high authorities of the Empire, the cabinet at Pekin were as far from appreciating our character and designs as they had been at the commencement. We found among these papers the English, French, and American Treaties, which it is not certain had ever been sent to the Capital. One of the most interesting specimens of a Chinese despatch I insert in full, as it affords an amusing and curious illustration of the amount of information and intelligence which Yeh could bring to bear upon those barbarian affairs, with the administration of which he was charged. The preliminary remarks are by our able Chinese secretary, Mr Wade, who translated the document:—

(*Memorandum*).—The following is translated from a draft in the same hand as that in which several of Yeh's draft memorials are corrected, and which I have other reasons for believing to be his own MS. It is the most unshapely specimen of Chinese writing I have ever seen, and has given a very competent native scholar considerable trouble to decipher. It was evidently a first draft, with much left to be filled in and corrected, and must have been written but a few days before the receipt of the Plenipotentiaries' ultimatum of the 12th December 1857. We have no proof that it was sent to Pekin, though such was probably the case.

(*Translation.*)

(Yeh, &c.,) "presents a Memorial to the effect that the English barbarians, troubled at home and pressed* with daily increasing urgency by other nations from without, will hardly attempt anything further; that they are reported to have had several consultations upon the opening of trade, and earnestly desire the suggestion of some means to that end; that in consequence of the English chief† not returned to Canton. A respectful memorial (of which particulars) he forwards by courier, at the rate of 600 li a day, and looking upward, solicits the sacred glance thereon.

"On the 6th of the 9th moon (23d October 1857) your servant had the honour to forward to your Majesty various particulars of his administration of barbarian affairs during the 7th and 8th moons (August and September), as it is recorded.

"Since the engagement of the 10th of the 5th moon (1st June), a period of more than six months, the English barbarians have made no disturbance up the Canton river.‡ (It should be known), however, that in the defeat sustained by Elgin at Mang-ga-ta§ in the 7th moon, he was pursued by the Mang-ga-la (Bengal) barbarian force to the sea-shore. A number of French men-of-war, which happened to be passing, fired several guns in succession, and the force of the Bengal barbarians falling back, the Chief, Elgin, made his escape. The Chief, Elgin was very grateful to the French force for saving his life, and on the arrival of the French minister, Lo-so-lun,* who in the beginning of the 9th moon had also reached Quang-Tung, he the Chief, Elgin, fêted the Chief, Gros, at Hong-Kong (*lit.* merrily feasted and prayed him [to drink] wine), and consulted him upon the present position of affairs in China.

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* He may mean pressed by their solicitations, or for money. His Hong-Kong correspondents, as their seized letters prove, had been representing us deeply indebted to Russia, and in great difficulty as to the means of satisfying her claims.

† The preamble generally epitomises the matter of the Memorial. I take this part of it to be best explained by the last sentence of the Memorial. There is evidently something to be filled up in the text.

‡ The affair of the 1st June is the destruction of Heoang's fleet up Fatschau Creek, doubtless reported to Pekin as a victory. The manner in which the next sentence is introduced, shows that Lord Elgin's return had been already announced, but without full particulars.

§ Mang-ga-ta is clearly a compromise between Mang-ga-la, Bengal and Calcutta.

"The Chief, Gros, said: I was not an eye-witness of last year's affair, but the story current among people of different nations who were by at the time, has made me familiar with the whole question. You see,† when the forts were taken, the Chinese Government made no retaliation; when the houses of the people were burned, it still declined to fight. Now, the uniform suppression, three years ago, of the Quang-Tung insurrection, in which some hundreds of thousands were engaged, shows the military power of China to be by no means insignificant. Will she take no notice of her injuries? (No). She is certain to have some deep policy which will enable her so to anticipate us, that before we can take up any ground she will have left us without the means of finding fault with her, while she, on the other hand, will oblige the foreigners to admit themselves completely in the wrong. On the last occasion that your nation opened fire,* it was but for some days, and people came forward (as mediators), but this time you did your utmost for three months. (You fired) 4000 rounds and more from great guns, as well as 3000 rockets. The high authorities of Canton, it is plain, have all along made their minds up (or have seen their way). They understand the character of all classes, high and low, in our foreign states. This is the reason why they have been so firm and unswerving. When I was leaving home the instructions my own sovereign gave me, with affectionate† earnestness, were these :—

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* The French Ambassador's name is elsewhere given as Go-lo-so (Gros); his title of Baron is evidently taken to be his name, and is put in Chinese fashion after his surname—*lun* representing, doubtless, *pa-lun*, for *Baron*.

† The Chinese expression here used, is generally rendered "for instance." Baron Gros is made to argue that he understands Yeh's policy; his opinion of which will be found at the end of the paragraph. We should have stated it at the beginning, and then have introduced the illustrations given.

"'There is a quarrel with the English in Quang-Tung; when you go thither, confine yourself to the observance of the treaty and pacific communications. You are not to avail yourself of the opportunity to commit acts of aggression or spoliation. Do not make

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* This must be presumed to refer to Sir Hugh Gough's attack on Canton.

† The manner in which the Chinese mandarins address the people.

China hate the French as a band of hostile wretches * who violate their engagements. The circumstances, too, are so different (from those of the last war of the English with China), that it is essential you should judge† for yourself what course to pursue. There is no analogy, I apprehend, between the present case and the opium question of some ten years' since, in which they had some wrong to allege.'

"It appears that in the country of the five Indies appropriated by the English barbarians, they have established four tribal divisions—three along the coast, and one in the interior. One of the coast divisions is Mang-ga-la (Bengal), the country in the extreme east; one is Ma-ta-la-sa (Madras), south-west of Bengal; and one is Mang-mai (Bombay), on the western limit of India. That in the interior is A-ka-la (Agra), lying midway between east and west. About the end of last summer, it is stated, twelve marts (or ports) in Bengal which had revolted, were lost. Since the 8th moon, the marts in Bombay have all been retaken (*sc.* from the English) by (Indian) chiefs; and since Elgin's return after his defeat, the leaders of the English barbarians have sustained a succession of serious defeats. The Indian chief drove a mine from bank to bank of a river, and by the introduction of infernal machines (*lit.* water-thunder) blew up several large vessels of war, killing above 1000 men. On shore they enticed (the English) far into the country, and murdered above 7000 of them, killing a distinguished soldier named Pu-ta-wei-ka-lut,* and many more.

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* Base, or low-caste persons.

† That is, you are not to accept the policy of England or any other nation as yours.

"Elgin passes day after day at Hong-Kong, stamping his foot and sighing; his anxiety is increased by the non-arrival of despatches from his government."

I reached Magazine Hill shortly after the prisoners arrived there. Yeh, seated in a large room, surrounded by some of his immediate attendants, was answering in a loud harsh voice, questions put to him by Sir Michael Seymour, with reference to Englishmen who had been prisoners in his hands. Though he endeavoured by the assumption of a careless and insolent manner to conceal his alarm, his glance was troubled, and his fingers trembled with suppressed agitation. His heavy sensual features, although relieved by a trembling vivacious eye, were not calculated to betray very keen emotional sensibility.

In another room, and more dignified in their bearing, perhaps because they had less cause for alarm, Pihkwei and the Tartar General philosophically awaited their fate—the former a quiet gentlemanlike old man, the latter of gigantic proportions and stolid countenance.

It was at once decided that the Imperial Commissioner should be deprived of all further power for mischief, and kept as a prisoner on board the "Inflexible," whither he was conveyed forthwith. In the mean time, the two Plenipotentiaries arrived at head-quarters, and at a conference with the naval and military authorities, discussed, for the remainder of the afternoon, the existing attitude of affairs, and the proper course to be adopted under the circumstances.

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* Possibly Brigadier Havelock.

In the cause of humanity, the abandonment of the city to the refuse of its population was to be deprecated; while the restoration of confidence to the inhabitants generally was a result which, in a political point of view, was eminently to be desired. The necessity of organising, without delay, a system of government, was therefore apparent. The question for decision was, what that system should be. The naval and military authorities had already confessed their inability to govern the city, and their conviction that the Chinese functionaries were alone competent to preserve order. In this opinion the Plenipotentiaries thoroughly concurred. Indeed, every hour that passed was affording incontestable evidence of its accuracy. The Chinese rabble had already taken advantage of the defenceless condition of the city, and were daily furnishing us with proof of their skill as plunderers. Organised gangs were prowling about the suburbs, and venturing into the city, gaining courage by immunity, and numbers by success.

The temptation to loot was strong upon our own men, and the General professed himself unable, with the small force at his disposal, to patrol efficiently with police a town containing a million of inhabitants, with whom it was impossible to communicate, and hold six miles of wall at the same time, unless assisted by civil authority of a character which the people had been accustomed to respect. With a population imbued with a traditionary awe for their own authorities, and speaking an unknown tongue, at the same time containing a larger proportion of trained thieves and vagabonds than any in the world, —with an imperfectly disciplined force in occupation, consisting of barely 5000 men, and composed of a heterogeneous assemblage of French and English, blue-jackets and marines, Madras sepoys and British infantry, and, to crown all, with only two gentlemen on the spot whose knowledge of the language enabled them to communicate directly with the people, it was manifestly absurd to think of replacing the local Chinese system of government by one of our own ; any such attempt would assuredly lead to the plunder and destruction of the town, the demoralisation of the troops, and to disappointment and failure on the part of those engaged in carrying out the experiment. Of this fact no persons were more thoroughly convinced than Mr Wade and Mr Parkes, upon whom would devolve the functions of all the mandarins in Canton.

The situation of affairs at this most critical juncture, and the difficulties by which they were surrounded, are very clearly defined in Lord Elgin's despatch of the 9th of January, in which his Excellency states: "Two plans for surmounting the difficulties of the situation in which we found ourselves, were under the consideration of the Commanders-in-chief, when I reached the Magazine Hill. The one proposed that Pihkwei and the Tartar General should be permitted at once to return to their yamuns, on condition of their consenting to publish a proclamation, in which the military occupation of the city by the allied forces should be recognised. I thought it my duty to enter my protest against the adoption of an arrangement of this nature. Neither on the side of the Chinese was there, as it appeared to me, sufficient honesty, nor on our own sufficient means of acquiring information, and, perhaps, I may add, sufficient forbearance, to afford a reasonable prospect of its working successfully. I felt confident that if Pihkwei returned to his yamun on the terms above mentioned, many days would not elapse before some act would be committed by him, or some proclamation issued, which would give rise to suspicions on our part; that on such suspicions, appeals to the Commanders-in-chief, urging them to adopt measures of precaution or coercion, of increased stringency, would be grounded; and that in this way the irritation of the soldiery against the Cantonese would be kept up, and all the evils attending the occupation of a city by a hostile army perpetuated. The other plan which had been submitted for the consideration of the Commanders-in-chief, proceeded equally on the assumption that Pihkwei must be retained as Governor of Canton. By way, however, of providing security for his upright behaviour, and for the maintenance of a good understanding between the parties, it suggested that he should be detained as a prisoner of war, if necessary, on board one of her Majesty's ships of war anchored in the river, and that he should exercise from thence the functions of his office. It is needless that I should here insist on the objections to which this proposition was open."

The course ultimately adopted was a compromise of these two extremes. It was decided that Pihkwei should be reinstated in his own yamun, in a manner calculated to increase rather than impair the prestige of that authority upon which the tranquillity, and, indeed, the very existence of the city, at that critical moment, depended; but, at the same time, that it should be impressed upon him, that, inasmuch as the city remained under martial law, he was only administering its affairs subject to the approval of the General, who was the supreme authority; that he would be under a constant surveillance; and that the most serious consequences would result from any treachery on his part. This proposal was laid before Pihkwei, and, after twenty-four hours' deliberation, during which time he remained our prisoner, he accepted the new conditions under which he was to continue the government of Canton.

During his short confinement, the Governor and the Tartar General were occasionally visited by the Treasurer, Howqua, and other of the principal merchants. The magistrate, prefect, and nearly all of the civic authorities, had already fled from the city; and, indeed, it was some time before they could be induced to return and resume their functions under Pihkwei.

The 9th of January was the day fixed for the installation of Pihkwei; and at two o'clock in the afternoon the two Plenipotentiaries went in procession through the town, followed by a large body of troops, and preceded by military bands. The "Avenue of Benevolence and Love" was crowded with eager faces, gazing at us as we passed with respectful curiosity. The entry into the yamun of the Governor was sufficiently imposing; and as the strains of martial music echoed through the several courts, the population outside can have had little doubt that both their city and its authorities were in our power, and that the latter only ruled by sufferance.

But while Lord Elgin was determined that it should be very clearly understood that Pihkwei held office only by the authority and at the will of the Plenipotentiaries and Commander-in-Chief, he was by no means desirous that the prestige of that functionary should be impaired,—this being, in point of fact, the instrument with which we were about to control the subordinate Chinese officials. He had, therefore, a double object in view in this ceremony of investiture; and at one moment it was apprehended that this double object might be in some degree compromised by certain mistakes which occurred in carrying the arrangements into effect. In the first place, no orders were given as to the time at which the prisoners, who were to be converted into potentates, were to be released from durance. This omission led to considerable delay, so that, in point of fact, the Tartar General and Pihkwei did not reach the yamun of the latter till long after the hour originally intended; and, secondly, when they did arrive, a dispute arose between them and the interpreters as to the seats which they ought to occupy. It was finally settled that they should be placed immediately below the Ambassadors; and Lord Elgin had barely time, while the shades of night were gathering, to address to them the following words, which were cordially seconded by Baron Gros:—"We are assembled here to welcome your Excellency on your return to your yamun, and on your resumption of the functions of your office, which have been momentarily interrupted. It is proper, however, that I should apprise your Excellency, and through your Excellency the inhabitants of Canton, that the Plenipotentiaries of England and France, and the Commanders-in-Chief of the allied forces, are firmly resolved to retain military occupation of the city, until all questions pending between our respective Governments and that of China shall have been finally settled and determined between us—the High Officers appointed by our governments for this service—and a Plenipotentiary of equal rank and powers, whom his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China may see fit to appoint to treat with us. Any attempt, therefore, whether by force or fraud, whether by treachery or violence, to disturb us in our possession of the city, will not fail to bring down on its authors and abettors the most severe and signal punishment. I am, however, no less prepared to apprise your Excellency that it is equally our determination, when the questions to which I have referred shall have been so settled, to withdraw from the military occupation of the city, and to restore it to the imperial authorities. Meanwhile, it is our sincere wish that, during the period of our military occupation, the feelings of the people be respected, life and property protected, the good rewarded, and offenders, whether native or foreign, punished. We are desirous to co-operate with your Excellency for these objects ; and, with this view, we have appointed a tribunal, composed of officers of high character and discretion, to act in concert with you. We hope that, through the agency of this tribunal, confidence may be restored to the people, and the foundation laid of a better understanding between foreigner and native, so that hereafter all may pursue their avocations in peace, and traffic together for their mutual advantage."

The substance of Pihkwei's reply to this address is as follows : "He begged his respects to his Lordship. He acknowledged his Lordship's consideration of the people of Canton. A state of tranquillity would be best secured by the exertion of authority on either side, native and foreign, to restrain those severally subject to it from doing what was offensive to the other. We promised to control our people ; he would control his. This would be to the advantage of Canton. Lastly, he trusted that his Lordship might soon meet an officer qualified to treat with him, and that the result of their negotiations would be the establishment of a good understanding."

The two mandarins were in full official costume, and retained throughout that charmed and delighted manner which a Chinaman always puts on when he is powerless and alarmed. The ceremony over, the Plenipotentiaries returned to their ships, and left Pihkwei in possession of his own yamun : a cheerless residence it must be at the best of times, consisting of a series of buildings, divided by courtyards, and each containing a large central hall, with two or three small rooms on either side, scantily furnished, and lighted by paper windows.

When I visited the yamun on the following day, the outer courts were full of allied troops, and Pihkwei lived in the inner division, so that he could not keep up intercourse with the outer world without passing our sentries. In one compartment of the same yamun was established a commission, composed of Colonel Holloway, Captain Martineau, and Mr Parkes. The object of this commission was ostensibly to adjudicate upon cases brought by the Chinese of robbery or violence committed by our men upon the population ; but its principal function was to exercise a rigid surveillance over Pihkwei—to superintend the issuing of proclamations—and to collect information from private sources upon all matters affecting the disposition of the inhabitants, and the security of our tenure of the city. At the same time, the institution of a tribunal invested with judicial functions was not without a beneficial effect, as well upon the Chinese as upon our own troops. To the former it proved our desire to protect the private property and lives of the citizens; and to the latter it manifested the determination which existed on the part of their own authorities to repress those outrages which were unfortunately becoming too common, and which, while they struck at the root of all military discipline, impaired the influence it was desired to acquire over the inhabitants by the exercise of moderation and justice.

The number of complaints which were daily brought by the Chinese before this tribunal fully justified the estimate formed of its value.

Our occupation of Canton gave us an opportunity, which might never again occur, of endeavouring, by intercourse and daily contact, to overcome that antipathy and distrust towards Europeans which had always distinguished its population, and to the manifestation of which they were instigated by their own mandarins. Our former experience at Chusan gave us every reason to hope that a better acquaintance with us would remove their old existing prejudices, and that, in the end, the forcible occupation of their city would lead to a better understanding on both sides. Under the influence of terror, one step was already gained. The populace had lost their defiant and insulting manner, and substituted for it an air of profound submission and humility, always remaining in a standing position as a European passed, letting down their tails in accordance with their own customs when desirous of showing respect, and uncovering their heads out of deference to our prejudices upon the subject.

CHAPTER IX.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE NAVAL FORCE — YAMUN OF THE TARTAR GENERAL—"THE HALL OF STATE"—THE ORNAMENTAL GARDENS—SCENES AT THE LANDING-PLACE—THE HALL OF EXAMINATION—THE "AVENUE OF BENEVOLENCE AND LOVE"—OPEN-AIR COOKERY—STREETS OF CANTON—JOSS-HOUSES OF CANTON—FUTURE PUNISHMENTS ILLUSTRATED—ALLIED POLICE CORPS—PIHKWEI'S PROCLAMATIONS—A LUNCHEON AT HOWQUA'S—PIHKWEI'S DESPATCH ON TRADE—PROPOSAL TO RAISE THE BLOCKADE.

The city of Canton was now completely in the possession of the allied forces. Almost the whole of the British portion of the naval force was therefore withdrawn,—the marines and 59th forming the army of occupation, together with a few hundred French sailors.

Our Jacks presented a most grotesque appearance, as they returned to their ships, waving Chinese banners, their heads covered with mandarin caps, and their knapsacks filled with spoils of a miscellaneous description ; though, to do them justice, we may fairly conjecture that these were rather ornamental than useful in their character. In this respect our simple tars presented a marked contrast in their looting propensities to their more prudent comrades among the allies. These latter possessed a wonderful instinct for securing portable articles of value; and, while honest Jack was flourishing down the street, with a broad grin of triumph on his face, a bowl of gold-fish under one arm, and a cage of canary-birds under the other, honest Jean, with a demure countenance and no external display, was conveying his well-lined pockets to the water-side.

All this time Pihkwei's yamun presented so much more the appearance of a barrack for French and English soldiers than the residence of a Chinese mandarin, that it was considered desirable that they should be removed to the more spacious yamun belonging to the Tartar General, but not at present occupied by him. Though in a dilapidated condition, it was a good specimen of the style of the best class of official residences in China. The first indication to the stranger of the existence of one of these buildings is the large masonry screen, upon which gigantic dragons are delineated, and which is often placed upon the side of the thoroughfare opposite the yamun, so that the street passes through the courtyard, of which it forms one face. Near it are the two lofty red poles, the invariable insignia of office. Walls enclose this square, on the fourth side of which is the entrance. Two carved lions guard a flight of granite steps, which ascend to the principal gateway. Upon the huge folding-doors are depicted gaudily-attired giants, who gaze contemplatively upon the crowd, holding with their left hands the points of their beards. Passing through this door, we enter a verandah, where once Tartar soldiers mounted guard, but of which all that remains are enormous tridents, spears, and scimitars stacked in a rack. Then down more steps, and across a paved yard, and through another painted gate, called the "Gate of Ceremony," on each side of which are circular slabs of granite, like millstones, carved with figures emblematic of eternity. Then across another grass-grown court, and up another flight of steps, to the "Hall of Audience," in the front of which is a raised paved yard, surrounded by an elaborately-carved granite balustrade.

Altogether there were five successive ranges of buildings, each separated from the other by a courtyard, each dedicated to some particular purpose, each surmounted by a tablet-like escutcheon, on which was inscribed in large characters the name of the General then occupying the yamun, to whom it was presented by the Emperor, the date, and the character "Happiness." The fourth range of buildings contained the "Hall of State," where there was a stone screen, upon which were inscribed the merits which should distinguish the soldier, his necessary qualifications, and the position he should occupy with reference to them ; in other words, that he should be "the right man in the right place ;" and in the corner, in gigantic strokes, as appropriate to the profession in China at all events, the character "Longevity." The fifth was the innermost building of all ; it possessed an upper story, and here were the apartments of the women. Each range was seventy or eighty yards long, the private apartments lighted by paper and occasional panes of glass, and ornamented with pictures.

There were detached buildings at the sides; a library with joss figures, but no books; a temple dedicated to the Emperor's handwriting, where a slab was erected like those upon which the commandments are usually inscribed in our own churches, with writing in the Manchourian character in the Emperor's own hand. Surrounding all were gardens, in which were tangled thickets, and shady walks, and little islands in the middle of ponds, approached by rustic bridges, and surrounded by ornamental rock-work; summer-houses and cool grottoes were pleasant retreats from the noonday heat. The grounds altogether were of that quaint character peculiar to Chinese taste, and which is not without a certain charm. The stone of which the caves and arches were composed comes from a district about a hundred miles distant; the fantastic shapes which are common to it render it especially suitable to ornamental purposes.

The whole of this establishment bore the marks of neglect and decay. Some of the rooms were tenanted by bats; the courts, which should have been shaded only by the spreading banyan or graceful bamboo, were overrun with noxious weeds, and the gardens were partly jungle. All this, however, was ultimately transformed by the allied civil and military officials, and a large body of troops, who entered into possession of these picturesque quarters shortly before we left Canton, and have remained in them ever since.

We had now been a fortnight in occupation of Canton, and found abundant employment, during the rest of our stay, in exploring the hitherto forbidden purlieus of that exclusive city. Lord Elgin seldom allowed a day to pass without visiting it,—partly for the purpose of judging for himself of the temper of the people, partly from the pleasure he took in exploring its most hidden recesses, but principally to check as far as possible, by his personal influence, those excesses on the part of the troops, so detrimental to the policy he was determined to carry out. Nor, in this latter respect, were his efforts unavailing. The General thoroughly entered into the views of the Plenipotentiaries, and, by his stringent orders, effectually restrained the somewhat natural tendencies of the men in the exercise of what they considered their legitimate privileges. It is only fair to state, that, upon the whole, their conduct was in the highest degree creditable to the arm of the service to which they belonged.

A gun-boat, which the Admiral had placed at Lord Elgin's disposition, conveyed us daily from our anchorage, about three miles from the landing-place, to and from the city. This landing-place ever presented a scene of picturesque confusion. At low water, a vast surface of deep mud was exposed to view, over which we were dragged in sampans by boatwomen, who kilted themselves for the occasion, and shoved and waded with immense energy and perseverance for a few coppers each. The boat population was indeed the first to regain confidence, and each gunboat, as it arrived, was surrounded by a swarm of importunate sampan-owners, whose love of filthy lucre soon overcame any patriotic scruples they might have had. Parties of seamen and sappers were engaged in constructing a pier, stores were being landed for the garrison, and athletic Chinamen, who formed the land-transport corps, were collected in groups round the burdens they were destined to carry to the front. The services which these men had rendered, from the commencement of operations, cannot be too highly estimated; their conduct under fire proved that, properly disciplined and supported, the Chinaman was not deficient in personal courage; while in their endurance and obedience they gave evidence of the most valuable qualities which go to make up the soldier.

The south-east angle of the wall was levelled, and a broad road made to it from the landing-place, so that an admirable line of communication conducted to every point occupied by our troops. Immediately within this angle the Hall of Examination, covering a great extent of ground, was the first striking object which met the eye. It consisted of a series of rows of cells on each side of a broad paved walk, not unlike the interior of a church, on a very large scale.

Each row was separately tiled over, and divided into a quantity of stalls, about the size usually allotted to horses; each of these was supposed, during the period of the public examinations, to contain a student, the whole being calculated to accommodate 8000 with lodging. Certainly there was not much to distract their attention during the fortnight they were condemned to pass in these cells. A narrow passage separated them from the dead wall which formed the back of the next row, and thick partitions rendered communication with their neighbours on either side impossible. It is necessary to pass through this examination, in order to obtain a master's degree; the only exception is made in favour of age; and after a man has passed threescore and ten years, he is considerately allowed to take out the degree of honorary master. At the period of our occupation, the passages were overgrown with weeds, and it bore all the marks of disuse and neglect. The houses in the immediate neighbourhood were wretched in the extreme, and had suffered a good deal from the fire of our ships.

The "Avenue of Benevolence and Love," or the great east and west street, was the principal thoroughfare of the city; here it was that the shops first began to open, and the population to resume those street habits which are the same in every Chinese town, and which were temporarily suspended by the capture of the city; one after the other shop-boards came down, and the owners stood smilingly behind their counters, thankful, doubtless, that the contents, which they had not had time to remove, were there to tempt their barbarian customers. As the taste of these latter for curiosities became known, shops of this character multiplied with marvellous rapidity. "Olo bronzes, and too muchee olo crackly China," were lavishly displayed; and the crowds constantly collected at the doors of the shops, proved that foreign purchasers were making rash investments within. At first, it was not considered prudent to move about unaccompanied by an escort, but this was speedily discontinued, and, with a revolver and a companion, we used to venture into any part of the city or suburbs.

As the "Avenue of Benevolence and Love" was more frequented, it became a less agreeable lounge, and the already narrow streets were still further diminished in breadth by large tubs full of live fish, baskets of greens, sea chestnuts, yams, and bamboo root. Cooking-stoves were erected, and elaborately cooked viands hissed and sputtered on the heated iron, titillating with their savoury odour the nostril of the hungry passenger. Open coppers steamed and bubbled, and delicate morsels danced on the surface; round tables were daintily set out with pastry of divers patterns, and presided over by croupiers, who jerked reeds in a box, or spun a ball something after the fashion of roulette, thus enabling the dinner-seeker to combine the exhilarating excitement of the gambler with the epicurean enjoyment of the gourmand, the consideration that they had cost him nothing adding an additional zest to his gastronomic pleasures. It might so happen, on the other hand, that one unkind turn of the wheel of fortune sent him supperless to bed.

Notwithstanding the apparent gradual restoration of confidence, people for some time continued to pour out of the West Gate, without, however, making any perceptible diminution in the amount of the population. It was singular to stand here and watch this exodus, to observe the miscellaneous property which was being conveyed by patient coolies, followed by anxious owners. Now a man passed with tables and chairs at one end of his stick, and two babies at the other; coffins balanced pots of manure; and men transported articles which we should consider worthless, as carefully as their wives; nor, considering the general aspect of the female part of the population, was this wonderful, when to their natural ugliness is added the deformity of feet and apparent entire absence of arms—for a Chinese woman seldom makes use of the sleeves of her jacket: anything more unprepossessing than the lady part of the community could not be well conceived. In fact, after the first novelty has worn off, there is nothing to make a promenade in the streets of a Chinese town attractive. The foulest odours assail the olfactories. The most disgusting sights meet the eye—objects of disease, more loathsome than anything to be seen in any other part of the world, jostle against you. Coolies staggering under coffins, or something worse, recklessly dash their loads against your shins; you suspect every man that touches you of a contagious disease; and the streets themselves are wet, slippery, narrow, tortuous, and crowded. The best streets were those in the suburbs, at the back of the site of the foreign factories, and which had formerly been frequented by foreigners. There the shops were gayer and more richly supplied; and the vertical shop-signs, gorgeously emblazoned in fantastic characters, were more numerous and striking to the stranger's eye.

The factories themselves were a heap of ruins; the only spot which could vie with their former site, as a scene of desolation, was Yeh's yamun, right in the line of the Cruizer's fire. The guns of that ship had effectually demolished the residence of the Imperial Commissioner. The street of triumphal arches, in a line beyond it, had also unfortunately suffered; many valuable book-shops had been destroyed, and four of the arches levelled. The same number, however, still remain; they are massively constructed of carved granite, and covered with inscriptions. Though of elegant design and workmanship, they are not comparable to those which span the streets of Ningpo. The joss-houses at Canton were not remarkable for beauty of architectural design or ornament. The handsomest was near the north-east angle of the wall; the exterior was elaborately adorned with carved groups in relief over the principal entrance, and under the quaint turned-up eaves the figures were gaudily coloured, and reflected in looking-glasses let into the framework which supported them. Many of the larger figures in these joss-houses had been overturned, as a popular notion prevailed among the soldiers, which was not altogether without foundation, that within the portly persons of these deities treasure was often concealed.

Others of the joss-houses were more particularly dedicated to what is vulgarly known as "Sing-sing joss-pigeon." A favourite lounge of the idler part of the population was the spacious court of one of these, situated close to the treasurer's yamun. Here "*mendici, mimæ, balatrones, hoc genus omne*," collected daily; gambling, fortune-telling, eating, and tom-toming went on perpetually; and public story-tellers kept gaping crowds entranced with the thrilling interest of their narrations, which were delivered with great volubility, accompanied by considerable play of feature, and with a loud, clear intonation. By way of a cheerful subject of contemplation for the public who frequented this haunt of excitement, the tortures of the damned were exhibited in recesses all round the courtyard. Clay figures, about three feet high, like those of terra-cotta to be seen in Italy, were represented in various attitudes inflicting or submitting to the most horrid penalties ; men were being sewn up alive in raw bullock skins, women sawn asunder, and whole families were being stirred about as they simmered in huge caldrons. The tormentors invariably wore an expression of countenance indicative of placid enjoyment ; while the faces of their victims, distorted with agony, were vividly portrayed. Altogether the tableaux were worthy of the most lively inquisitorial imagination.

During the first week of the occupation, bodies of men were marched through the different quarters of the city as patrols; it was found, however, that this served rather to alarm than to reassure the population; while a lawless rabble, following close in rear, took advantage of the confusion created to shoplift with a dexterity worthy of the swell-mob. An allied police was, therefore, substituted for these patrols, composed partly of Chinese and partly of English or French. Natives and foreigners were alike amused to observe a file of marines walking amicably side-by-side with a file of Chinamen, the one headed by a sergeant, and the other by a petty mandarin, gracefully fanning himself. This scheme proved eminently successful: European offenders were brought up and punished by the tribunal; while Pihkwei bastinadoed his own countrymen with an unsparing vehemence, to prove his desire of cordial co-operation. The experiment of a naval alliance for the suppression of piracy did not turn out so happily, the Mandarin junks taking the first opportunity, by escaping into the creeks, to dissolve the connection. As, in the course of his explorations, Mr Parkes discovered some proclamations intended to inflame the population against foreigners, which evil-disposed persons were beginning to post up extensively, Pihkwei was ordered to issue notices to the headmen of the districts, making them responsible for insulting or incendiary proclamations. The system of responsibility thus introduced is thoroughly in accordance with the Chinese plan of government. It was that pursued in the government of Canton with perfect success ; it served the twofold purpose of keeping Pihkwei constantly in check, and of proving to the inhabitants the absolute supremacy of our power.

Some of these proclamations were characteristic, and to the minds of the Chinese readers sufficiently novel and startling, after the inflammatory notices against foreigners to which they had been accustomed. In one the authorities call the people to account for calling names : "Whereas," they say, "the Canton people have a habit, whenever they see a foreigner, of shouting out 'Fan-kwei,' and otherwise committing themselves, in utter violation of all rules of proper demeanour, and of the conduct that is due from man to man, you forget that there is no distinction between natives and foreigners ; that foreigners are but as the people of other provinces ; and that there should be between you courteous intercourse and mutual concession ; that you should not intentionally show contempt for them, or stand aloof from them:"—then it goes on to notice the practice of posting placards, and concludes by stating that, "This is to signify to all you, the people, that henceforth, when you meet foreigners in the streets, you must behave to them civilly ; you must neither use the term 'fan-kwei,' nor any other opprobrious expression. You are not either to post placards containing anything offensive to foreigners. We, the authorities above mentioned, spare not to reiterate this caution to you. We, at the same time, command all police and constables to keep strict watch, and to seize those who transgress. If you offend, you will be punished with the utmost severity. Do not, therefore, pursue a course which you will repent when it is too late. Do not disobey. A special notification." Another proclamation, concluding "Let every one tremble and obey," was from Pihkwei, commanding servants who had left the service of Europeans at Hong-Kong in consequence of the pressure applied by the government, to return to their masters.

Amongst those most anxious for the re-establishment of a settled order of things was the celebrated Chinese merchant Howqua, who, in the fulness of his desire for conciliation, invited some of us to luncheon with him one afternoon. His house in the suburbs had remained uninjured during the troubles, and was tastefully but plainly furnished: he explained, however, that he possessed another handsomer residence. We met here a blue-button mandarin and an ex-judge from the province of Sz'chuen. The latter was an enlightened man, and said that Yeh had only received what he deserved. Howqua regaled us with some delicious tea, of course without milk or sugar, and we afterwards sat down to a light repast of preserves and fruits, our host doing the honours with much courtesy and good-breeding.

But the Chinese merchants of Canton were not the only persons desirous of seeing commerce resumed. Most singular to state, Pihkwei wrote to Lord Elgin upon the same subject as follows:—[*] "Still it is, without doubt, essential that so far as trade is concerned no time should be lost. By every day that the opening of the port is accelerated, by so much is the restoration of public confidence accelerated, not only in the minds of the Chinese, but in the minds of the merchants in every nation as well. The conditions of trade would probably be in accordance with the old regulations under which imports and exports were entered and inspected, and the duties on them paid. Your Excellency is, of course, thoroughly conversant with these. I would add, that from the ninth moon of last year to the present time, a twelvemonth and more, the mercantile communities of both our nations have been subjected to loss. The eagerness with which merchants will devote themselves to gain, if the trade be now thrown well open, will increase manifold the good understanding between our nations, and the step will thus, at the same time, enhance your Excellency's reputation."

Those who are familiar with the normal state of our relations with Chinese mandarins at Canton, will appreciate the change which must have been operated upon them, when the governor of the city approaches a British minister as a suppliant for the re-establishment of that trade, in the prosecution of which it has been the policy of England so often to humiliate itself before China.

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[*] Blue-Book, 24th January 1858.

The allied Plenipotentiaries were not unwilling to respond to this appeal. It was indeed true that fifteen months had already elapsed since the unfortunate incident occurred, which led to an interruption of our commercial relations with Canton ; the unsatisfactory state in which they had subsequently for some time remained, ultimately resulted in the so-called blockade, which was established during Lord Elgin's absence in India. The Ambassadors were anxious to effect the speedy removal of this restriction, partly because, in the then state of our commercial relations with the other ports of China, its very existence was anomalous, and partly because the resumption of trade was the most effectual way of restoring that confidence to the population of Canton, on the establishment of which their policy in some measure depended.

The naval authorities thoroughly concurred with them in this desire, and were no less anxious to put an end to a blockade which, while it tended to exercise a demoralising influence upon the class of vessels specially employed in enforcing it, had failed in the object it was designed to accomplish. Instead of preventing all trade with Canton, it had simply diverted it to the Broadway and other channels not guarded by our cruisers. Thus it was both ineffectual and illegal ; a circumstance which fortunately it did not occur to any neutral power to complain of.

The accomplishment of so important a measure involved a new set of considerations, and it behoved the Ambassadors to prepare for the contingencies which were likely to arise under the altered conditions of the situation.

CHAPTER X.

DIPLOMACY IN CHINA—POLICY OF THE NEUTRAL POWERS—PROPOSED EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH—OPINION OF COUNT POUTIATINE — PROCLAMATION RAISING BLOCKADE — PUTINQUA'S GARDENS—RIVER SCENES—LORD ELGIN'S VISIT TO THE PRISONS—STATE OF THE PRISONERS—FATE OF YEH—LORD ELGIN'S LETTER TO YU—DEPARTURE FOR SHANGHAI—AMOY—ARRIVAL AT SHANGHAI—DEPARTURE FOR SOO-CHOW—FACILITIES OF WATER-COMMUNICATION—CANAL SCENES—STATE OF THE POPULATION—MR MACLANE'S VISIT TO SOO-CHOW—BOAT LIFE ON THE CANALS.

THE position which the Chinese Empire has hitherto occupied with reference to the rest of the world, has always invested the conduct of diplomatic relations in that country with peculiar difficulties. Not only are questions of the most exceptional character constantly arising with the Imperial Government, but out of them are often evolved complications in our intercourse with other European nations, which have no analogy elsewhere, and are unprovided for by any principle of international law.

Thus, the capture of one city in an Empire, whilst we were trading peaceably at others, was not a more abnormal proceeding than the reopening to the commerce of other nations a port of which we retained military possession, and governed under martial law.

Yet it was manifestly a condition of things out of which international difficulties might easily spring, more especially if there should chance to be any disposition to create them. No doubt we confined ourselves to a strictly military occupation of the city ; the customs duties were to be collected by Chinese officials, and paid into the Chinese treasury ; still foreigners were not on the same footing here as at other towns in the Empire, and, within certain limits, placed themselves within the somewhat arbitrary jurisdiction of martial law.

The suspension of diplomatic relations with the Imperial Commissioner Yeh, which had taken place in the autumn of 1856, had necessarily caused serious interruption to the commercial intercourse of other nations at Canton ; but so unanimous was the desire on their part to take advantage of the opportunity, then afforded, of renewing relations with the Chinese Government under other and more favourable conditions, that France, Russia, and America sent out plenipotentiaries, whose very arrival in China, if it did not imply a tacit approval of our ground of quarrel, at all events evinced a determination to make it available for the attainment of the objects they desired.

So far as France was concerned, she had her own grievance, and her policy was laid down without any attempt at mystery. With Russia and America, however, the case was different. Not conceiving themselves entitled to the attitude of belligerents, they were driven, during the progress of hostilities, into a false position, from which the restoration of peace could alone relieve them. They were, however, so far fortunately placed, that under no circumstances could they be losers by a quarrel in which they were not involved, while they might derive equal advantages from its results with those who were. As it had never been the policy of England to attempt to monopolise those advantages, and as a united pressure might more probably extort, without recourse to arms, those demands which the four nations were preferring in common, the time seemed to have come, in the opinion of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, to invite the co-operation of the neutral powers, and thus not only to increase the moral pressure, but to avoid the chance of those difficulties, to which I have already alluded, being raised.

The plan of operations which Lord Elgin had proposed for himself, in the prosecution of his policy, was, to proceed in the first instance to Shanghai, and to invite a properly accredited minister to meet him there, for the settlement of all questions in dispute between the two countries. Shanghai being at a considerable distance from the capital, and being, moreover, the place where the relations between foreigners and Chinese were of the most friendly character, Lord Elgin considered this proposal the most conciliatory which it was in his power to make. In the event of his not being so met, his intention was to push northwards without delay, for the purpose of approaching Pekin as nearly as was practicable, with gunboats of the lightest draught. This scheme he had already discussed with Count Poutiatine, whose local knowledge was of great assistance (see Blue-Book, 14th November 1857, the Earl of Elgin to the Earl of Clarendon), in which his Excellency says: "Count Poutiatine was very decided in the expression of his opinion that nothing could be done with the Chinese Government unless pressure were brought to bear upon Pekin itself; and that the use of vessels drawing so little water that they could navigate the Peiho would be the best means of making such pressure effective. The mandarins on the spot, if I rightly understood him, had, in conversation with him, adverted with exultation to the fact that our ships of war could not perform this feat. I told him that we were pretty strong in craft of the description to which he referred; that we had, as he no doubt knew, a quarrel of our own in this neighbourhood, but that, when that affair was concluded, we should be prepared to go northwards in force, and very glad to be accompanied by the flags of other nations interested with us in extending commercial relations with China, and inducing that Court to abate its absurd pretensions to superiority."

In furtherance of these views, Lord Elgin shortly afterwards addressed a communication to the Admiral, requesting him to despatch the lightest draught gunboats to the north, for the purpose of "bringing pressure to bear at some point near the capital." *

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* Blue-Book, the Earl of Elgin to Admiral Seymour, 2d March 1858.

Meantime, in answer to communications addressed to Mr Reed and Count Poutiatine, those gentlemen at once cordially accepted the invitation to unite with France and England in the projected expedition to the north, and, either at Shanghai or at a point nearer the capital, press their common demands jointly on the Cabinet of Pekin. It only remained now to issue a proclamation announcing the raising of the blockade, and to make the necessary arrangements for the reopening of trade. As Lord Elgin and Baron Gros did not participate in the general opinion that this measure was premature, or believe in the almost universal prediction that the raising of the blockade would not be the signal of the renewal of foreign trade, they determined to name the earliest day possible for the experiment. It was settled that the consular flags should be hoisted, and the customs levied by Chinese officers at Whampoa; while Canton itself, and its immediate suburbs, with the exception of Honan, should remain under martial law, and only be entered by Europeans under passports containing certain printed restrictions, to be granted by the allied naval and military authorities.

On the 6th of February a notification was published by the allied Commanders-in-Chief, announcing the raising of the blockade, and the nomination by them of the mixed commission already mentioned, and consisting of Colonel Holloway, Captain Martineau, and Mr Parkes, to preserve good order, and to inquire into infractions of their regulations, or of martial law, &c. And on the same day a further notification was issued by the Plenipotentiaries, declaring "that the city and suburbs will continue in military occupation, and under martial law, until further notice ; but that hostile operations against China, except such as the Commanders-in-Chief of the allied forces may consider it necessary to adopt for the security of their military position in Canton, are for the present suspended." With the exception of what was implied by the necessary clause announcing the suspension of our hostilities with China generally, no restriction whatever was placed upon the action of the allied Commanders-in-Chief, upon whom alone rested the responsibility of dealing with braves or disaffected populace as they should deem most expedient.

The 10th of February was the day fixed for the raising of the blockade ; and although, in consequence of the Chinese New Year, and the festivities incidental to it, the reopening of trade was delayed for some weeks, the extent to which it increased within the next few months, and the fact that about one-third of the exports were paid for in British goods, fully justified the Plenipotentiaries in their view of the expediency of the measure.

We had now spent two months in the Canton River, and had exhausted the attractions of its banks and the resources of Canton. We had visited the Fatee Gardens, situated in a creek crowded with the boats which had taken refuge there on our occupation. Here box-trees were cut in the shapes of animals or dragons; young bamboos were fantastically twisted; gaudy and sweet-scented flowers bloomed in rows of pots; quaint little bridges led over pools, the water of which was hidden by broad-leaved languid lilies; and grotesque pavilions surmounted rocky islets. All Chinese gardens partake of much the same character. About four miles from Canton is the country house of Putinqua, deserted by its owner on the occasion of our visit, but very singular in its arrangement to European eyes. A tall white pagoda, situated on a rocky island, affords a bird's-eye view of several acres of water surrounded by a wall, with here and there islands and bridges, and pathways leading to them, paved and covered-in with trellis-work, and overrun with creepers, and in the centre of all, the mansion of the owner, built on piles in the water, with draw-bridges communicating with the bedrooms, and canals instead of passages. It was the principle of Venice applied to a single residence.

As it was not safe to walk into the country for any distance, our explorations in the neighbourhood of our anchorage were necessarily limited. Sometimes we visited the handsome nine-storied pagoda, which, from being slightly out of the perpendicular, is known as the inclined pagoda, about a mile distant; at others explored in a light boat the narrow creeks in the vicinity, where extensive villages of junks and sampans lay concealed between banks cultivated with rice and water-chestnuts. The very existence of a vast population within a short range of our ship was totally unsuspected ; some of these creeks were almost bridged by rows of houses built over them on piles, the whole presenting a quaint and novel appearance. As these villages contained a lawless and desperate population, who in a great measure depended for their livelihood upon river piracy, a distant walk involved a large party and revolvers. One day we captured a gang of eight of these plunderers, rifling one of the Chinese bum-boats attached to the ships ; they were kept in irons all night, and sent to Pihkwei next morning.

On another occasion we observed a portion of the population of a village turn out, in pursuit of a gang who were escaping in a boat they had evidently stolen. The chase was a most exciting one, but unfortunately night closed in before we saw its results. Some of the gentlemen attached to the French embassy were attacked one evening in a sampan, and found it necessary to shoot one or two of their assailants with revolvers. Under these circumstances expeditions, either afloat or ashore, were always invested with a tinge of excitement, which relieved the monotony of the occupation. For a few days we were employed in blowing up a monster brass gun, which had been left in one of the barrier forts taken by the Americans. They had endeavoured to remove this prize in vain, so it became our perquisite. A remarkable specimen of Chinese workmanship, it measured twenty-five feet in length, and more than five feet across the breech.

One of the most interesting incidents which occurred about this time at Canton was the discovery, by Lord Elgin, of the public prisons; and the horrors which were disclosed induced him to remonstrate strongly with Pihkwei on the subject. The old mandarin was more roused by this act of interference on our part than by the capture of the city, and, in a letter he addressed to Lord Elgin, makes an indignant appeal to his Excellency's "enlightenment and rectitude," &c. "Would your Excellency," he asks, "hold it correct, or not, were I, for instance, without giving you information, to desire any one to remove, by force, British prisoners confined in a British jail?"—and he concludes pathetically, "I am not a man greedy of life, and sooner than be thus unreasonably oppressed, I would gladly give my life to the State. The matter is of great importance; and I write that your Excellency may, when you have considered it, inform me without loss of time of the course to be followed. I avail myself of the occasion to wish your Excellency the blessings of the season.[*]

But old Pihkwei was not so unreasonably oppressed as the wretched victims of Chinese legislation. Their condition has been graphically described by Mr Cooke, who was present at their discovery. Pihkwei was therefore informed that, in spite of his sensitive feelings on the point, he must take the unhappy beings into a room in his yamun, where I first saw them, wan and emaciated, but slowly recovering under medical treatment; in return for which their countenances expressed gratitude more strongly than I had supposed possible in a Chinese physiognomy. One boy had been so tightly bound in a squatting position that he was unable to assume any other; while several of the men's legs and feet were a mass of bruises and ulcers, the effect of severe bastinadoing.

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[*] Blue-Book. 17th January, Pihkwei to Earl of Elgin.

On the 7th of February the 70th native regiment of Bengal Infantry landed. They were the first-fruits of our trip to Calcutta; but at Canton their arrival was inaugurated by an unfortunate accident which occurred the same day, partly owing to their ignorance of the regulations, and partly to the impetuosity of a French patrol, which fired upon some stragglers engaged in collecting firewood and looking for cooking-utensils, and shot three men. The arrival of this regiment was most opportune: it was followed at a later period of the year by the 47th and 65th, also from Bengal, an accession of force which enabled the General to detach the 59th "Queen's" to the north at a critical point in the negotiations. Meantime, ever since his capture, Yeh had remained a prisoner on board the "Inflexible" at the Bogue Forts. As his presence so near the scene of his exploits was supposed to exercise a disturbing influence upon the minds of the Chinese population, and as a useful ship was kept unemployed while serving as his prison, it was decided that he should be sent to Calcutta, where Government were in the habit of accommodating political state prisoners. Until he was informed of his fate he seemed never thoroughly to have realised the fact that he was our prisoner, and had constantly expressed his astonishment at Lord Elgin's absence, and the postponement of those negotiations to conduct which he professed was his object in living on board the "Inflexible." He manifested not the slightest emotion, however, on learning his destination, and expressed himself entirely satisfied with any arrangement that was come to in his regard.

Meantime the four powers, acting in concert, had decided on addressing a communication to Pekin, demanding a plenipotentiary possessing full powers to treat on the several points specified in their letters, to be sent to Shanghai, which was named as the place of negotiation in the first instance. In the event of an imperial commissioner not being sent there before the end of March, the allied Ambassadors declared it to be their intention to proceed to some point nearer the capital, with the view of placing themselves more directly in communication with the high officers of the Chinese Government.

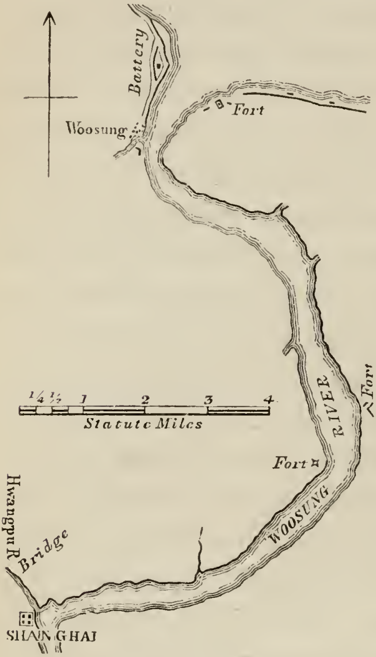
Lord Elgin's letter was addressed to Yu, the senior Secretary of State. It enclosed copies of the correspondence which had taken place with the Imperial Commissioner ; explained the present position of affairs at Canton as resulting from the conduct of that functionary ; announced the intention of the allied Powers to continue the occupation until those demands, which we had reserved to ourselves the right to make, under the altered attitude of affairs, had been satisfied ; adverted in general terms to the nature of those demands, as having for their object the placing of our relations on a safer and more satisfactory basis. A resident minister at or near the Court, a more extended intercourse throughout the country, were the principal points insisted upon in addition to those claims for indemnity, to which we already considered ourselves entitled. The letter concluded by stating that, in the event of no plenipotentiary presenting himself, or presenting himself without sufficient powers, or proving unwilling to accede to reasonable terms of accommodation, the British Plenipotentiary "reserves to himself the right of having recourse, without farther announcement, delay, or declaration of hostilities, to such measures in vindication of the claims of his country on China, as in his judgment it may appear advisable to adopt."

This letter was dated the 11th of February, or the day after the raising of the blockade ; and on the following morning I left Canton in company with the Vicomte de Contades, the bearer of the French note, for Shanghai, for the purpose of having it forwarded with the least possible delay from that point to the capital. The American and Russian notes were despatched by U. S. frigate Mississippi about the same time.

If the reader is only as tired of Canton and its neighbourhood as we were, I shall have the less scruple in requesting him to accompany me to the north, more especially as no event of political interest occurred during the few weeks which formed the remainder of Lord Elgin's stay in the south, and my own journey terminated in a manner far more interesting than I could have anticipated.

We reached Amoy in the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer Formosa on the morning of the 16th. Though only here for a few hours, we saw enough of Amoy to reconcile us to a speedy departure. A walk to the British consulate led us through the centre of the town, along streets narrower and more filthy than those of Canton, crowded as it so happened with a gaily dressed population, engaged in feasting and visiting at one another's houses, and celebrating the New Year. Children swaddled in finery were borne about like bambinos, their mothers resplendent in gaudy petticoats, glittering hoofs, faces powdered white, and hair bedizened with flowers of brilliant hues. Numerous toy-shops displayed, in tempting array, their fantastic contents, and the population seemed given over to merry-making. The British consulate is a handsome residence, situated under the walls of the citadel, through which we afterwards walked, the Chinese guard betraying little interest or curiosity. The island of Amoy is a rocky barren spot, unattractive in a picturesque point of view, and owing its importance chiefly to the trade in tropical produce, which it maintains with Singapore and the Straits. A good deal of sugar is also imported here from Formosa, and it has hitherto enjoyed the unenviable distinction of being the chief port of coolie *emigration* (so called) to Cuba and the West Indies.

At daylight on the morning of the 20th we found ourselves in the muddy waters of the Yang-tse-Kiang, though out of sight of land, and reached Woosung the same afternoon. This is simply an opium station, and the European population is composed of the occupants of receiving-ships. It is only twelve miles from here to Shanghai. The banks of the river are flat. Farm-houses are situated in clumps of trees, leafless at this time of year, and surrounded by meadows; and the whole aspect of the country very much resembles some parts of Holland. The wind was bitterly cold; but the piercing blast, so far from being disagreeable, produced a most exhilarating effect upon systems more or less enervated by tropical heats. That night we once more occupied the bed-rooms of civilisation, and revelled in the luxuries of carpets and curtains, crackling fires and warm blankets.



THE WOOSUNG RIVER

We found that the Taoutai or Intendant of Shanghai, the highest Chinese official in that place, was absent on his annual new-year visit to his superior officers, the Governor of the province and the Governor-General of the Two Kiangs. As in his absence there was no functionary of a sufficiently high rank to intrust with the transmission of letters of such grave importance to the capital, it became a matter for our consideration whether we ought not to deliver them in person to Chaou, the Governor of Kiangsu, to whom they were in the first instance addressed. This high functionary resided at the celebrated city of Soo-chow, which, since the occupation of Nankin by the rebels, has taken the rank of the provincial city.

The arrival of the Mississippi devolved upon us the charge of the Russian and American notes, and upon consultation with Messrs Robertson and Montigny, the English and French consuls, and the American Vice-Consul, it was decided that we should proceed thither without delay, accompanied by those gentlemen and their respective interpreters. As Soo-chow had rarely been visited by Europeans, and these generally only when disguised as Chinamen, or concealed from observation in boats, the success of our experiment was very doubtful. Thus much, however, was certain, that if we were prevented from entering the city we should be met by the governor outside the walls, as in the case of the American Commissioner, Mr Maclane, on the occasion of his visit in 1854. Mr Lay, the Inspector of Customs at Shanghai, whose knowledge of the language and local experience rendered him a most valuable addition to our party, also accompanied us.

We left Shanghai on the afternoon of the 24th. As the journey was to be performed by water, and our party was a large one, our seventeen boats formed quite a formidable fleet ; and, as our destination was not a mystery, a number of Chinese were collected to see us start on so novel an expedition.

The whole delta of the Yang-tse-Kiang is intersected in every direction with water-communication, so that there were two ways of reaching Soo-chow : as some of our boats were of a large draught of water, we did not adopt the shortest and most common route, but continued for some distance up the river Wang-poo, on which Shanghai is situated. This accidental circumstance turned out the principal cause of our ultimate success. We anchored for the first night at a pagoda a few miles above Shanghai, and observed a mandarin boat immediately moor in significant proximity to us. We subsequently discovered that the suspicions we entertained at the time were correct, and that our every movement had been minutely recorded by a petty mandarin sent to watch us.

On the following morning we proceeded up the river, our progress being somewhat retarded by the difficulty we found in keeping our squadron together. The river was about a quarter of a mile broad, the character of its banks remaining unchanged. About mid-day we left it, and turned into a broad canal. Where nature has provided such abundant water-communication, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish what is artificial from what is natural; indeed, most of the channels are a combination of both. No doubt it is in a great measure owing to the extraordinary facility which exists for the conveyance of produce in every direction, that the traffic does not appear so extensive as it really is, and as the density of the population would lead one to expect. Still, although the canal on which we journeyed was in no degree crowded, the sails of numbers of junks were visible above the level country, through which they seemed impelled by some mysterious and hidden influence. The population here is not so much collected into large villages as in the south, but is scattered over the country in farms and hamlets, imparting to the otherwise uninteresting scenery that air of domestic comfort and civilisation which is more particularly the characteristic of Belgium and the Low Countries.

Everywhere the population were industriously engaged in agricultural pursuits ; not an inch of ground seemed uncultivated, not a resource neglected for increasing the fertility of the soil. Men in boats were scooping the rich mud from the bottom of the canals with primitive dredges made of basket-work, which opened and shut on the principle of snuffers ; and as they vomited their contents into the bottom of the boat, they opened their wide jaws like some river monster disgorging itself. This mud was discharged into a receptacle for it on a level with the water, where the bank had been excavated for the purpose. Half-way up the bank, one on each side of this hole, stood two persons, each holding the end of a rope, to the middle of which was attached a bucket which they ducked into the mud below, and then jerked to the top of the bank, where it was received in troughs and carried away to manure the fields. Such and many other novel and ingenious contrivances we observed employed by the labourers with whom the fields teemed, and who were so absorbed by their occupation that nothing less exciting than the appearance of a posse of barbarians would have interrupted their labours. One could not help making the unenlightened and antiquated political economical reflection, that the introduction among them of European enterprise and discoveries would be a doubtful boon to persons who seemed to possess all the elements of material prosperity, and who so richly deserved whatever comforts they had obtained by their industry and ingenuity. Of course it was impossible for the mere passer to do more than guess how far they enjoyed substantial happiness, and how the system of government under which they lived might affect their domestic comfort. I have heard precisely opposite opinions expressed on the subject by persons whose long residence in the country, and knowledge of its language and government, entitled their authority to respect.

According to my own observation, however, the condition of the population varies as much in different parts of China as in the British dominions, and it would be as unfair to judge of the merits of the government, or of the general state of the population of the empire, by the people of Chili or Kiangsu, as it would be to form any like general theory in our own country, one way or the other, by the counties of Tipperary or Kent.

We passed numerous junks flying little yellow flags, to indicate that they were loaded with their annual tribute of rice. These junks were private, but pressed for the time into the service of the government. Towards evening we reached and crossed the lake of Meaou, a shallow sheet of water, but of considerable extent. The opposite shore was not visible from the point at which we entered it.

We continued our voyage during the greater part of the night, and observed strings of lanterns hoisted upon poles, which we supposed to be signals of our progress. Next morning I was told that a mandarin had been on board the boat of the American Vice-Consul, and informed him that the Governor Chaou was waiting for us at the village of Kwan-shan, upon the other route from Shanghai, where he had held his interview with Mr Maclane, the Plenipotentiary of the United States. This was a piece of information which we were determined to ignore, as it proved the existence of a strong desire on the part of the authorities to prevent our entering Soo-chow, and of binding us by the same precedent (which we had determined if possible to break through) on which they had insisted in the case of the American Minister. Some light has been thrown on this event by the papers seized in Yeh's yamun at Canton. Among them is the memorial of Iliang, Governor-General of the Two Kiangs, upon the subject of his interview with Mr Maclane at Kwan-shan, in which that functionary states that, in reply to Mr Maclane's request to be allowed to deliver a letter in person, he wrote as follows :—" If the chief (Maclane) desired to present a letter from his government in person, he should follow the precedent furnished last year in the case of Marshall,—hasten back to Shanghai, and there wait till Wu-kien-chang should bring him to Kwan-shan to introduce him. In obedient accordance with the above reply, the chief did presently turn back, and having transferred himself to a native vessel, was brought, on the 25th of the 5th moon, to Kwan-shan by Wu-kien-chang. Your slave, having with him Ping-han, the acting Prefect of Soo-chow, for long employed in that department, and thoroughly versed in business, had started from Soo-chow on the 24th, and also arriving at Kwan-shan on the 25th, on the following day assembled the officials present in the public hall of Kwan-shan, and summoned the chief to come forward and pay his respects. The chief's manner, it must be admitted, was reverential," &c. &c. Then follows a detailed account of the audience, and the arguments used by Iliang to dissuade Mr Maclane from visiting the Peiho.

Having been favoured by fair winds, we made good progress. Most of our boats sailed admirably, the tall masts giving our enormous flat sails such an elevation that we glided rapidly through the water under the influence of light airs. The weather was lovely. In the early morning a thick hoar-frost covered the fields ; at mid-day it was pleasant to sit on the deck, and bask in the sunshine ; and at night, to retire into the snug cabin, stir the coal fire in the stove into a bright glow, and enjoy our cigars together after dinner, preparatory to separating for the night to our respective boats. We usually stopped for breakfast and dinner, and all met in a boat reserved expressly for a common dining-room. I was indebted to my kind host at Shanghai, Mr Moncreiff, for a most comfortable boat. Indeed, the circumstances under which I made my first experiences of travelling in the interior of China were calculated to impress me most favourably ; and now that the whole of this vast continent is about to be thrown open by treaty to European exploration, there can be little doubt that the great facilities of transit which its network of water-communication affords, will be duly appreciated. Seldom, indeed, does it fall to the lot of the adventurous traveller in an unknown country, to pursue the work of discovery surrounded by so many of the appliances of comfort and civilisation, as he may enjoy when engaged in the "*exploitation*" of the Celestial Empire.

CHAPTER XI.

THE IMPERIAL GRAND CANAL—ARRIVAL AT SOO-CHOW—ENTRY OF THE CITY—CURIOSITY OF THE POPULACE—RECEPTION BY THE GOVERNOR—A COMPLIMENTARY DIALOGUE—A CHINESE OFFICIAL REPAST—POLITENESS OF OUR HOST—CHINESE ETIQUETTE—POLITICAL EFFECT OF OUR VISIT—REASONS AGAINST EXPLORING THE CITY—EXPLORATION OF THE WATER SUBURB—THE BOAT POPULATION—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE—A NOCTURNAL VISITATION—THE TAI-HOO LAKE—A GALE OF WIND—RESIDENCE AT SHANGHAI—A DINNER WITH THE TAOUTAI—AFTER-DINNER CONVERSATION—DEPARTURE FOR NINGPO—NINGPO—THE SHOPS AND JOSS-HOUSES—THE OLD PAGODA.

When day broke on the morning of the 26th, it showed us the walls and pagodas of Soo-chow, distant about three miles. In order to deprive the Governor of the power of saying, at any future time, that we had taken him by surprise, and slipped into the town in an undignified manner, M. de Contades concurred with me in deeming it prudent to write a joint letter to his Excellency, informing him of our proximity to Soo-chow, which we followed in about two hours afterwards.

We had entered the Imperial Grand Canal during the night, and were now proceeding along that once celebrated channel of the internal commerce of the

Empire. Since the bursting of its banks by the Yellow River, and the destruction in consequence of a section of this canal, it has not been used for the last five years. The vast supplies of grain which were annually conveyed along it to the capital are now sent in sea-going junks from Shanghai, and other ports of the Yang-tse-Kiang, round the promontory of Shantung, and up the Peiho river. The expenses incidental to the rebellion have prevented the Government from spending any money in repairing this magnificent work. The consequence is, that the enormous imperial grain-junks formerly employed now line the bank in a rotting condition. They are singular specimens of naval architecture, of immense solidity, and capable of transporting from two to three hundred tons of rice each. They look like so many stranded arks going to decay : this is their inevitable destiny, as the profane vulgar are not allowed to touch imperial property. Their valuable timbers were crumbling and worm-eaten, and, in some instances, their decks grass-grown.

We lowered our tapering masts to pass under a very handsome stone bridge, which spanned the canal in a single arch, and shortly after reached the south-east angle of the city wall. The view from this point was very remarkable. The city is built in the shape of a perfect square, each side four miles in length. On two sides the grand canal washes the walls, and on the other sides two smaller canals complete the square. We were at the junction of one of these with the grand canal, which extended before us, covered with boats and lined with houses ; but at right angles to the left no suburb interrupted our view of the four miles of canal and wall which stretched in one unbroken line over the vast plain. Here a messenger arrived, saying that the Governor was on his way to meet us, and suggesting that we should wait for him ; but, anxious to get inside the city walls, we pressed on, threading our way in line along the densely thronged canal, and attracting to its banks and the roofs of the houses crowds of eager spectators, not accustomed to see British, French, and American flags flaunting impudently under their very windows.

We appeared so suddenly before the water-gate called "Foomun," that the officials, had they wished it, would scarcely have had time to shut it. However, they contented themselves with making the most frantic gesticulations and expressive signs to us to turn back ; but we put on an air of the most obtuse stolidity, and pushed vehemently on ; my boat, which happened to be leading, carrying away in the hurry some of the grille which formed part of the gate. Once in the city, we did not venture on an exploration of the lanes of water, which, like those of Venice, opened up in divers directions, but moored at once in a retired spot under the walls. We were not long, however, left in quiet. Almost immediately a dense crowd collected on both sides of the canal, deeply interested in the proceedings of the barbarians.

Whenever any of us moved from one boat to another, a general titter of astonishment and curiosity was heard ; but they manifested no semblance of dislike or hostility towards us, and were infinitely more respectable in their behaviour than an English mob would have been under similar circumstances.

We had not been long moored here before the "Foo," a blue-button mandarin, came with a message from the Governor to Mr Lay, who was an old acquaintance of his, requesting to see him at the west gate. In about two hours this gentleman returned with the welcome intelligence that the Governor would receive us at his yamun in the centre of the city, and would immediately send down chairs for us to a neighbouring wharf. Accordingly we proceeded, the same afternoon, to the appointed place, the whole party, with the exception of M. de Contades and myself, being in uniform. We were received at the wharf by a guard of soldiers, and were accompanied by them during our progress in chairs through the city. We thus traversed a distance of about two miles. The streets throughout were lined with spectators ; the windows, house-tops, and bridges were thronged with an eager and excited populace, who gazed with the most extraordinary earnestness at probably the first barbarians they had ever seen in their lives. So wrapt in contemplation of these unknown specimens of humanity were they, that I did not even see them criticising us to one another, much less did they manifest any signs of hostility or contempt towards us. With mouths and eyes at utmost stretch, they stared in perfect silence. I observed many women among the crowd. Soo-chow is celebrated throughout China for the beauty of its women ; and certainly those I saw did not belie its reputation. In no other part of the empire have I seen such fair complexions or regular features. In Canton the women are absolutely hideous ; in the north they may be good-looking, but it is very difficult to catch a passing glimpse of them, so shy are they of barbarians ; but in Soo-chow they love both to see and be seen, and with good reason. The Chinese proverb surely lacks wisdom, which says, "To be happy on earth, one must be born in Soo-chow, live in Canton, and die in Liauchau ;" which they explain by saying that those born in Soochow are remarkable for personal beauty, those who live in Canton enjoy the richest luxuries of life, and those who die in Liauchau easily obtain superior coffins from the excellent forest trees which are there abundant.

We were received at the yamun by the usual Chinese salute of three guns, and passed through the several courts between rows of soldiers and attendants, drawn up in line and dressed in a species of livery. The Governor met us with great politeness, at the door of the audience-hall, and seated M. de Contades and myself on the raised estrade, which usually forms the centre of a semicircle of chairs on these occasions, and is considered the seat of honour. The

Governor himself took a seat to our right, which, in this land of ceremonies, was considered an additional compliment, inasmuch as the further you are to the left of your host the more highly honoured is your position. Then follows an elaborate interchange of compliments, when the visitor resigns himself entirely to the good offices of the interpreter, who in all probability throws them into somewhat the following shape.

English gentleman, who has never seen his Chinese host before, expresses his pleasure at meeting him.

Interpreter.—"His Excellency has long looked forward to this day."

Chinese Dignitary.—"I meet him now as an old friend, and request to know his honourable age."

Int.—"His Excellency has profitlessly passed — years."

Chin. Dig.—"The ears of his Excellency are long, and betoken great ability."

Int.—"Ah! oh! He is unworthy of the compliment."

Chin. Dig.—"You have had an arduous journey?"

Int.—"We deserved it."

Chin. Dig.—"I trust your honourable health is good."

Int.—"Relying on your happy auspices, his Excellency's health is still robust."

Int.—"The Great Emperor of your honourable nation, is he well?"

Chin. Dig.—"He is well. The Great Sovereign of your honourable nation, is she well?"

Int.—"She is well. Do the troublesome pests (rebels) still infest the country?"

Chin. Dig.—"The insects are being speedily exterminated."

Such, I have little doubt, was the tone of conversation which Mr Meadows and Chaou kept up for a few minutes, until we went on to inform his Excellency that we were the bearers of notes for the Prime Minister Yu, from the four Powers, which were of the utmost importance, and which, we trusted, he would lose no time in forwarding, as delay in their transmission might seriously compromise the interests of the Empire. The covering despatch to himself he opened and read, a crowd of attendants collecting round him and making themselves acquainted with its contents over his shoulder. As we desired that the whole proceeding should be invested with as much publicity as possible, this mode of conducting business, though rather unusual in western diplomacy, was quite in accordance with our wishes.

We were now conducted to a recess, and invited to partake of an extensive display of fruits, pastry, and preserves, first, however, being invited to uncover our heads by our host, who says—"Will you elevate the cap?" On which he is answered,—"We are behaving in a scandalously outrageous manner, forgive our crime;" by which we mean elegantly to apologise for the liberty we are taking in sitting down bareheaded. Then we engage in general conversation, in the course of which Chaou makes sundry inquiries as to the condition of Canton, wishes to know whether we are going to kill Yeh, and when the Ambassadors are coming north. He also, in true Chinese style, indulges in a little quiet irony at the expense of us all, though ostensibly directed at our worthy consul, Mr Robertson, who, he says, must be glad of having such a good opportunity of seeing the celebrated city of Soo-chow; but Mr Robertson protests that Chaou himself is the only sight worth looking at. Certainly a man who is governor of a province containing thirty-eight millions of inhabitants, with a power of life and death, is not an everyday individual, and yet he is only the subordinate of the Governor-General of the Two Kiangs, who, in his turn, is a responsible officer.

Chaou was the best specimen of a Chinese gentleman I had yet seen in China: nothing could be more dignified or courteous than his manner, and this at a time when a most disagreeable commission had been confided to him. But a Chinaman has wonderful command of feature; he generally looks most pleased when he has least reason to be so, and maintains an expression of imperturbable politeness and amiability, when he is secretly regretting devoutly that he cannot bastinado you to death. On this occasion our accomplished host overwhelmed us with civilities, constructed pyramids of delicacies on our plates, and insisted on our drinking a quantity of hot wine, obliging us to turn over our glasses each time as a security against heel-taps.

Chaou's yamun was a far handsomer residence than any similar official abode at Canton. The interior was invested with an air of comfort unusual in China, the walls nicely papered, and the floor carpeted. The whole establishment had been recently put into good order, and was altogether a fit residence for so elevated a functionary.

At last we "begged to take our leave," and began violently to "tsing-tsing," a ceremony which consists in clasping your hands before your breast, and making a crouching baboon-like gesture. It is the equivalent of shaking hands, only one shakes one's own hands instead of another person's, which may or not have its advantages: in China the custom of the country is the preferable one. This is followed by a scene very like that which occurs on similar occasions among ourselves. Our host insists upon following us to our chairs. We remonstrate—"Stop, stop, stop, we are unworthy," say we. "What language is this?" he replies. "We really are unworthy" we reiterate. "You are in my house" he insists; and so we back to our chairs, perpetually imploring him not to trouble himself by accompanying us, which he vehemently resists, until at last, when we are in our chairs, he reluctantly consents to return, apologising to the last for being so rude as to leave us even then. It is just possible that, under the circumstances, his satisfaction at getting quit of us had as much to do with this "empressement" as his sense of politeness.

It was dark when we returned to our boats; and so much had happened to excite and interest, that even had it not been, I was not in a humour to engage in the work of accurate observation. Our expedition had terminated, after a good deal of anxiety, in complete success. For the first time in its history, barbarians had made an official entry into Soo-chow, and we hoped that this result would not be without an important political effect. In a country where everything is established by precedent, a victory had been gained over Chinese exclusiveness, which, in the existing state of our relations with the Empire, might be significant of a disposition to yield at last to that Western pressure which for so many years had been successfully resisted. So wonderfully jealous are Chinese of foreigners entering their cities, that one of the first requests made to us by Chaou was, that we should leave the city immediately after the interview, which we agreed to do.

Although it was late before we reached our boats, we determined to keep our faith, and shifted our berth to a wharf outside the west gate, opposite a yamun, at which we had invited Chaou to breakfast with us on the following morning. This ceremony, and all the forms of etiquette which it involved, took place at the appointed hour; but there was an addition to the party in the person of the Taoutai of Shanghai, who had just returned from a fruitless expedition to Shanghai in search of us, by the short route, for the purpose of meeting us, and so preventing our reaching Soo-chow. We enjoyed a quiet laugh at his expense, and he no doubt was firmly convinced that we had designedly effected a very clever strategic manœuvre. We plied both our guests with quantities of champagne, in return for the hot wine we had imbibed, at the peril of our constitutions, on the previous evening.

After breakfast, we expressed ourselves satisfied with the receipts Chaou had sent us for the despatches we had delivered to him, and our guests got into their chairs amid a profusion of regrets and civil speeches.

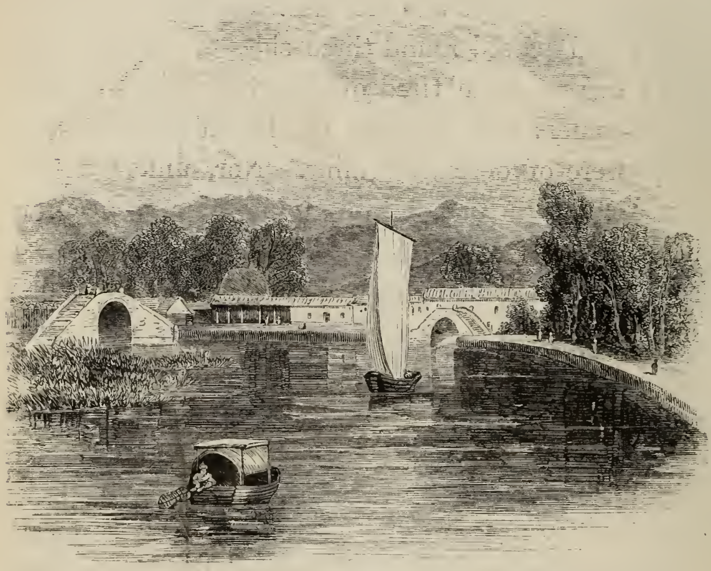
Had we pressed the point, there can be little doubt that we should have been allowed to visit the principal objects in the city, under favourable circumstances ; but many reasons combined to render this inexpedient at the time, and among them, the justification which it would have afforded to the Governor's insinuation, that we had taken advantage of a political mission to gratify an idle curiosity ; so, to our great disappointment, we deemed it best to content ourselves with this transient glance of this interesting city, famed as the birthplace of beauty, and the cradle of all that is refined, elegant, and fashionable in the Empire. We were even unable, as we passed through the streets, to judge of the shops, so dense was the crowd ; and the only remarkable feature I could catch in passing was the numerous canals intersecting it in every direction, spanned, rialto fashion, by high single arches, and with houses rising out of the water as in Venice.

I observe that Mr Fortune has added as little to our previous limited knowledge of Soo-chow as I have, but he is less excusable, as he seems to have resided there for some time in the disguise of a Chinaman. That there is much interesting information connected with this celebrated city may be inferred from the fact that a Chinese work, called the Soo-chow-foo-chi, in forty octavo volumes, is devoted to an account of its history, monuments, &c. Chaou told us that he estimated the population at about three millions.

As I was anxious to visit the large lake of Tai-hoo in the vicinity of Soo-chow, I parted from my companions shortly after breakfast. I regretted extremely that it was not in M. de Contades' power to accompany me, as I had found in that gentleman not only a most agreeable companion, but a colleague whose energy and tact largely contributed to the successful issue of our undertaking. He returned direct to Shanghai, while Mr Lay and I proceeded, in the first instance, to explore the principal water-suburb of the city. We followed the grand canal for about two miles. As far as I could judge, its average breadth was about 100 yards, but it is somewhat difficult to form a very accurate estimate on this subject, as the water is so concealed by boats, and the residences of the aquatic and terrestrial population so much resemble one another, that it is not always easy to tell where the water ends and the land begins. A narrow lane was kept clear for traffic, and along it passed innumerable craft of every description. There were as many different varieties of boats here as there are of vehicles in Fleet Street, and the water-way was as inconveniently crowded as that celebrated thoroughfare usually is. Ferry-boats plied as briskly and were as heavily loaded as omnibuses ; heavy cargo-boats lumbered along and got in everybody's way, just as brewers' drays do. Light tanka-boats, with one or two passengers, and deftly worked by a single oar astern, cut in and out like hansoms. And there were large passage-boats with accommodation for travellers on long journeys, that plied regularly between Soo-chow, Hang-chow, Chang-chow, and other distant cities, and that created the same sort of sensation as they passed as did the Brighton Age or Portsmouth Telegraph in days gone by. Gentlemen's private carriages were here represented by gorgeous mandarin-junks, with the huge umbrella on the top, and a gong at the entrance to the cabin, beaten at intervals by calfless flunkies. Other junks there were, more gaudily painted even than these, from whence issued shrill voices and sounds of noisy laughter and music. There was the costermonger in his humble substitute for a donkey-cart, a small covered canoe, which looked like a coffin, and in which he sat alone, forcing it speedily through the water with a pair of oars, one of which he worked astern with his hand, the other at the side with his feet. The race of scavengers lived in flat punts, and scooping up the mud and rubbish from the bottom of the canal, discharged it into them, where it was immediately examined by a number of ducks kept on board for the purpose, who picked out all that was worth eating, and what they rejected was then inspected by their owners for waifs and strays that had been lost from junks, and then taken to fatten the land. But the most curious appearance was presented by the boats which carried the fishing cormorants, solemnly perched in successive rows on stages projecting from the sides; they looked like a number of gentlemen in black on the platform at a meeting of a grave and serious character.

We had passed round three sides of the city, and yet I was no more tired of observing and watching the manners and customs of the inhabitants than they were of observing mine. Nor, unfortunately, can I be sure that I am giving a more accurate description of them than they would of me: in a country like China, the traveller can trust less to first impressions than in any other; when nothing is superficial, a superficial survey cannot be depended upon. Every minute detail in their manners and habits of life bears the stamp of antiquity, has had its origin in some excellent reason, and possesses a special adaptability to the purpose for which it is designed, which is not at first sight appreciable by an utter stranger. One gazes at a party of Chinamen at work very much as one would at beavers or bees. Their results are startling, and their mode of arriving at them defies imitation by an ordinary mortal.

Turning sharp out of the grand canal, we passed down a narrower one, under high bridges, between tall houses with turned-up eaves, and balconies full of people, and quaint gates and archways, covered with moral inscriptions, and so into the open country, where our men jumped out upon the paved towing-path, and dragged us rapidly between interminable green fields, stretching to the horizon, except in the direction we were going, where a range of low hills, purpled by the setting sun, gave promise of an approach to the picturesque. We met numbers of other boats being tracked in like manner, and passed under high single-arched bridges, like those the pictures of which first imbued our infantine minds with notions of Chinese quaintness in the willow-pattern plate. I only observed one which was of a different construc-



Canal Scene near Soo-chow.

tion in a town through which the canal passed; it consisted of three arches, and on the middle one a building was erected with a twisted roof, and crowds of people gazed at us from beneath it. We observed here the commencement of those fields of mulberry trees, which, extending throughout the departments of Kiashing and Hoo-chow, render these the most celebrated silk-producing districts in the province.

Just as we were going to bed we were aroused by shouts which called us on deck to witness a most romantic sight: a full moon was lighting up the silent water-ways of a picturesque old town, full of bridges and gaunt houses; the canal was so narrow that we had great difficulty in squeezing past the few boats already moored in it; from its edge rose houses three stories high, completely shutting in dark mysterious lanes, which turned off in every direction, allowing only here and there a gleam of silvery light to play upon the surface of the water. The inhabitants, unused to so late a visitation, peered curiously at us from their latticed windows, and bright rays shot across our gloomy paths as one after the other these were opened. The stream was strong against us, the street was a long one, and as there was no towing-path, it was some time before we had punted through it, and were clear of the long shadows of its lofty houses. We reached the edge of the lake shortly after this, and anchored for the night.

The morning was still and foggy, and the shores of the lake were concealed from us in almost every direction; we were five hours sailing slowly across to a high projecting promontory, called Tung-ting-shan. Ascending the hill,—for the day had cleared,—we had an extensive view: not far distant a high-wooded island seemed to float on the still surface of the lake, and beyond it the blue outline of the mountains that formed the opposite shore were dimly visible. At our feet, skirting the bay, lay the secluded little village at which we had landed, embowered in trees, above which curled wreaths of smoke; a spur of the promontory separated it from another village which seemed the twin brother of the first, so exactly did it resemble it in situation and extent. We descended into it, and were of course immediately surrounded by the whole population. They were perfectly good-humoured in manner, and when we threw handfuls of copper cash amongst them, the juvenile community indulged in a universal scramble, in which some of the elders even condescended to join. I would gladly have spent another day on the Tai-hoo, but was afraid of missing the mail from Shanghai; so we returned in time to pass through our old town of the night before, by moonlight again, and here diverged from our former route.

In the middle of the night I was disturbed by a violent shock, to which I was indebted for a view of a famous bridge across an expansion of the grand canal, mentioned by Mr Ellis, in his account of Lord Amherst's Embassy, as having ninety arches. I only counted fifty-three, and the moonlight was so bright that I do not think I was mistaken in the number. The next day we entered the Meaou Lake again, and crossed it with a fair wind, in company with a large and picturesque fleet, which must have been composed of some hundreds of junks. This breeze freshened into a gale the day after, and involved a tough beat down the river to Shanghai. My canal boat, so delightful in calm weather, was by no means adapted for such an emergency: having no keel, she was extremely crank, and whenever she went about, everything loose in the cabin fetched way; and, to crown all, when they were jumbled in picturesque confusion on the floor, my stove upset, and shot its contents of glowing coals into the middle of them. As this was close to Shanghai, I narrowly escaped signalising my return to that place by a grand conflagration.

I remained for ten days at Shanghai, enjoying the hospitality of its merchant princes, and the invigorating effects of its bracing winter climate. Of all the spots upon the coast of the Celestial Empire at which Europeans have established themselves, it is certainly the pleasantest as a residence. With a society almost as numerous as Hong-Kong, there is much agreeable social intercourse, owing, no doubt, in a great measure to the fact that it is the Ultima Thule of civilisation, and has not yet been forced into exclusiveness by miscellaneous hordes making it a house of call; while, as a foreign community in a distant land, it is not subject to those political dissensions which so often distract our own colonies. There is, moreover, an air of substantial prosperity about Shanghai, which occasionally expands into magnificence, and displays itself in palatial residences, and an expensive style of living; but there is also, unhappily, a gloomy side to the picture, and there are years when an unfortunately heavy venture in silk, on the part of the community, results in a corresponding reduction of crinoline.

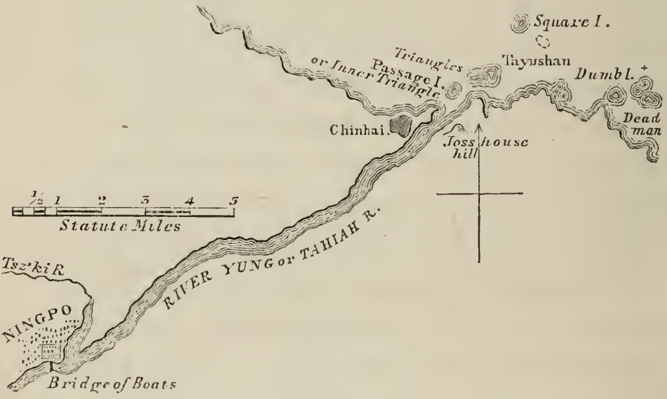
Situated on the flat bank of the river, Shanghai owes none of its charms to the picturesque; but the handsome houses which line the shore for a distance of two miles, give it an imposing appearance as approached from the sea. The English section of the town, though not confined exclusively to British subjects, is the largest. It lies between the French and American. Each of these different quarters is inhabited by subjects of other countries. The boundary of the French concession is the city wall. The city is about three miles in circumference, and contains a population of about 300,000. As all Chinese towns of its class are so like each other as to be almost undistinguishable, and have been repeatedly described, I will only say of Shanghai that it is chiefly celebrated for old China, inlaid copper, and other objects of "vertu," which it imports from Soo-chow to meet the European demand. It has suffered a good deal from the occupation of the rebels, and its once famous tea-gardens are now a mass of grotesque rock-work and debris, but little frequented, and which in their best days must have been rather quaint than pretty.

I was glad to have an opportunity at Shanghai of renewing my acquaintance with the Taoutai, whom I found to be a person of considerable intelligence and enlightenment. One day I dined with him, and partook not of a flimsy refection, such as those usually offered on such occasions, but of a good substantial repast, beginning with bird's-nest soup, followed by shark's fins, *bêche de mèr*, and other indescribable delicacies, as *entrées*, then mutton and turkey, as *pièces de resistance*, carved at a side-table in a civilised manner, and handed round cut up into mouthfuls, so that the refined chopstick replaced throughout the rude knife and fork of the West. We may certainly adopt with advantage the more elegant custom of China in this respect ; and as we have ceased to carve the joints in dishes, make the next step in advance, and no longer cut up slices of them in our plates. There, however, we might stop : the usage of stretching across the table, and collecting a heap of delicacies from every dish in your neighbour's plate, as a mark of politeness, is decidedly objectionable. Some of the dishes were so constructed as to admit of a small charcoal fire in the centre, so that the soup or viands surrounding it were kept constantly warm. There were wines of different qualities, but principally extracted from millet-seed, and always drunk warm ; and after dinner some very strong but delicately flavoured tea called red, which answers the purpose of coffee as a digestive, and simply differs from the green, in being subjected for a much longer time to the steaming process. The green tea, which is the least powerful and most refreshing, is a milder infusion, the leaf being slightly dried over a fire and still green. This was followed by some delicious almond tea. The guests upon the occasion were Mr Robertson, Mr John Meadows, and myself, the Haefan-ting or Prefect, and the principal military mandarin in Shanghai. The conversation turned chiefly on a comparison of the different administrative systems of England and China, interspersed with the most fulsome compliments, with now and then a feeler thrown out by the Taoutai on the subject of existing troubles, when his endeavours to conceal his desire to gain as much information as possible on our probable policy were highly diverting.

I did not venture to broach a subject to his Excellency on which I was no less anxious to be informed. Shanghai is the principal port for the export of the annual supply of rice to the north. Thousands of junks bound for the mouth of the Peiho, leave the river in successive fleets during the spring months, and it was important that we should know the intentions of the Taoutai for the ensuing year, and discover, if possible, the quantity of grain to be exported, and the different ports at which it was to be collected, as well as the date of the earliest departure. In the event of our finding it necessary to operate in the north, one of the most important means of pressure which could be brought to bear upon the capital was by intercepting this supply, which it would be in our power to do, with a few gunboats in the Gulf of Pechelee. At this time the river opposite the town was covered with a dense forest of the masts of junks, all waiting for clearances to Tientsin. We were afterwards informed by the customhouse authorities, that the amount of rice to be sent to the north from Shanghai alone was about 300,000 piculs.

As Lord Elgin was expected at Ningpo from the south about this time, I proceeded thither in the despatch gun-vessel "Surprise," to meet him. At mid-day on the 14th March we reached the mouth of the Ningpo river, having run over in about twenty-four hours. After the dead level of the valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang, the approach to this river is sufficiently picturesque. To the right a bold promontory, about 200 feet in height, surmounted by a fort, overlooks the city of Chinhai, the walls of which extend along both the river-bank and sea-shore; numbers of junks block up the passage, and render great skill in steering necessary. Most of these are loaded with timber from Fokien, and their unsightly burdens extend on either side for some distance, almost concealing the junk itself, and giving it somewhat the appearance which a donkey presents when buried between two bundles of hay. Considerable ingenuity must have been exercised in loading these junks, by means, as I understood, of stays from the masts.

As we proceed up the river, the hills recede to some distance, and here and there picturesque valleys open up through them. The immediate banks are flat, and chiefly remarkable for a number of erections which look like enormous haystacks, but which are really ice-houses, for the preservation of fish. They are obliged by law to contain a three years' supply always in store. It is only about twelve miles to Ningpo, which we reached at sunset. The following day was dedicated to an inspection of the city, which decidedly ranks first among those at present open to Europeans. It is situated at the confluence of two rivers, contains a population of about a quarter of a million, and is five miles in circumference. A bridge of boats, 200 yards long, connects it with the principal suburb. But few Europeans reside here, and they live princi-



NINGPO RIVER.

pally opposite the city, on the bank of the lesser of the two rivers. Ningpo is celebrated for having produced some of the ablest scholars in China, and numerous triumphal arches, in honour of those of her sons who have carried off the highest honours at competitive examinations, span the principal streets. They are constructed of granite, and ornamented with specimens of singularly clever carving: in some instances the slab has been cut through, and presents an open net-work of carving of the nicest delicacy. In others, the beauty of the workmanship is exhibited in the wonderful relief with which the most intricate patterns are made to stand out from the solid granite.

The book-shops of Ningpo are worthy its high literary reputation; and, indeed, the shops of every description were superior to those at any of the other ports. At that popularly known as Fortnum and Mason's, we used to sit down and drink exquisite tea, while various delicate conserves were being produced for trial, and smoke minute pipes full of mild tobacco at intervals.

In the best shops there is usually an outer and an inner shop, separated from each other by a glass-covered verandah. The inner room is generally a spacious apartment, fitted up with shelves and pigeon-holes and drawers, much as in England; and with extensive counters, behind which stand pale studious-looking men with intelligent countenances, who measure out yards of silk, or display crapes and gauzes, with the same insinuating grace which distinguishes their brotherhood in our own country.

Ningpo is noted for the excellence of its wood-carving and inlaying. The embroidery in silk and satin is often beautiful. Occasionally old China may be picked up, but the supply in this article is not equal to the demand. Soap-stone carving is abundant, but may be procured more cheaply at Foochow.

The joss-house dedicated to the goddess Ma Tsupu, and maintained by the Shantung guild, a flourishing corporation, was the handsomest building of the kind I had seen in China. The verandahs and roofs were supported by freestone columns, carved into the forms of dragons and other unearthly monsters, whilst elaborate representations in gaudy colours and delicate tracery adorned the walls. Fishes standing on their tails, and dragons with their mouths open, ornamented the ridges of the roofs, and terminated in grotesque turrets the projecting eaves. The city is intersected at intervals of two or three hundred yards by fire-walls, so as to confine the ravages of that destructive element within narrow limits.

The visitor is amply repaid for the trouble of ascending the Old Pagoda, by the view which is obtained from the windy summit of its seven stories. The position of the city, and the direction of the rivers, lie mapped at his feet, with the blue mountains in the distance, which enclose the lakes and the snowy valley, and the picturesque sights of the neighbourhood. This pagoda is 1100 years old, and 160 feet in height.

I was fortunate enough, one day, to witness a "sing-sing joss" in one of the principal temples. The disagreeable necessity of being obliged to form one of a dense crowd of very odoriferous Chinamen prevented my staying very long, nor was the plot of so refined a nature as to render the performance attractive; but the acting was in some instances clever, and the female characters admirably sustained by men whose treble voices, and apparently distorted feet, rendered the disguise perfect. The audience seemed deeply interested; and the comic episodes, in which a good deal of rather coarse humour was displayed, elicited shouts of laughter.

The neighbourhood of Ningpo was reported more worth seeing than the town itself; and as the scenery I had already visited in China possessed but small merit in a picturesque point of view, I was glad to accede to the proposal of Captain Saumarez, of H.M.S. Cormorant, that we should occupy the interval until the arrival of Lord Elgin by an expedition to the Snowy Valley.

CHAPTER XII.

AN EXPEDITION TO THE SNOWY VALLEY—MOUNTAIN SCENERY—THE TEMPLE OF THE SNOWY CREVICE—THE MAOU-KAO-TAE—THE "THOUSAND-FATHOM PRECIPICE"—SEWE-KANG-HA — OUR FELLOW-LODGERS—THE DRAGON WATERFALL—DEPARTURE FROM THE SNOWY VALLEY—MOUNTAIN MEN—A VOYAGE ON BAMBOO RAFTS—RAFT NAVIGATION—ARRIVAL AT CHUSAN—A ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION—A CHINESE COUNTRY RESIDENCE—POLITICAL ADVANTAGES OF CHUSAN—A BRITISH GRAVEYARD—THE SACRED ISLAND OF POOTOO—A DEGRADED PRIESTHOOD—THE HIGH PRIEST—PICTURESQUE TEMPLES—PILGRIMS—MAGNIFICENT VIEW—CHAPOO.

MR THOMAS MEADOWS had been kind enough to furnish us, not only with a guide, but with most accurate information as to the sights to be seen in the Snowy Valley, and the best way to see them. The first part of our journey was performed at night, in a covered boat of small dimensions, and which was propelled by a single oar astern. However, we had the tide with us, and daylight found us moored under a covered bridge, where we were to transfer ourselves to mountain-chairs, and our baggage to the shoulders of stalwart porters. For the first three hours our way lay over the flat banks of the river, along the paved ridges which separated fields of beans, rice, wheat, cabbages, and all the varied assortment of Chinese cultivation. We only recrossed the river once, by a bridge, where massive slabs of granite, about twenty-five feet in length each, were laid upon the wooden piles. The valley now began to narrow, and the hills, with an elevation of from 1200 to 1500 feet, to disclose rocky gorges and narrow valleys, where strips of wood and pine forest clothed the steep sides, and the navigation of the river, except for rafts of bamboo, had ceased altogether. Then we brace ourselves for the climb, and discarding our light mountain-chairs, we left them to follow, contented that they should form a picturesque feature of the procession, as it wound up the steep rocky paths.

Our way led through young pine woods, the smaller branches of which had been lopped for firewood, and passed along the precipitous side of the hill in which it had been scarped. When we had attained an elevation of about 1000 feet, and looked back from a projecting spur in the range, a beautiful panoramic view met the eye. The valley we had traversed in the morning, dotted with scattered villages, and divided by the river winding away to the horizon like a silver thread, lay at our feet, while, on our right, pendulous woods of bamboo covered the steep slopes of the mountain : planted with perfect regularity, their feathery plumes, of varied hues and exquisite grace of form, waved gently in the breeze.

Taking a last look at this lovely scene, we reached in a few steps the summit of the pass, and, crossing it, found ourselves in an amphitheatre surrounded by partially wooded hills, in the midst of which the most prominent object was the group of quaint, gabled, upturned-cornered houses, which formed the "Temple of the Snowy Crevice;"—this was to be our resting-place for the night. Here we were received by sundry Bonzes, in black or grey serge, with shaven crowns, who were dispensing, at the charge of a few "cash," yellow tickets for the celestial regions, to groups of female devotees, of whom we had already passed many on the hill-side, helping themselves along upon their little feet—so ill adapted to the mountains—by means of stout staves. A number of them, with ruddy countenances, by no means uncomely, and whose neat attire and comfortable embonpoint, gave evidence of a domestic condition of ease and independence, knelt upon small circular mats or hassocks, and prostrated themselves before a row of gods and goddesses, the largest of which, in the centre, was about twenty-five feet in height. Huge black images, with ferocious countenances and drawn swords, guarded the sanctity of the temple; and near them was a handsome bell, where the officiating priest kept up a low monotonous chant, and tapped a little bell as the signal for genuflexion or prostration on the part of the congregation, who were in the mean time burning little pieces of yellow paper, lighting joss-sticks, or telling their rosaries. In another hall a number of persons were employed in manufacturing bamboo mats. We were compelled to pass through these holy places on our way to our bedroom, which was in a range of buildings at the back.

As we had yet a few hours of daylight, we procured at the temple a guide by name Kim-bau, who should be immortalised in the first hand-book which Mr Murray publishes of these regions. He had been initiated into the mysteries of cicerone-ship by Mr Meadows, and, although innocent of any language but his mother tongue, had learned his lesson, and took us to every point of view with scrupulous precision. First, we went to the Maou-kao-tae, where a priest's little house is built upon a projecting ledge of rock that overhangs a precipice 1000 feet high by aneroid measurement, to the edge of which we crept cautiously and looked over broad fertile valleys intersected by rivers, which met lovingly and flowed away to water distant fields. The hill-sides were terraced with rice and other cultivation, in some places to their summits, at others the high lands were wooded, and strips of forest marked the course of impetuous torrents tumbling into the glistening streams beneath. A town lay peacefully sleeping in the midst of the principal valley, and tiny figures could be distinguished working in the fields, or following the winding paths. The scenery altogether reminded me of the Mahabuleshwar Hills, where, however, the precipices are higher. From here we scrambled along the edge of the precipice for a few hundred yards, until we reached the waterfall called the "Thousand-fathom Precipice," where Kim-bau showed us the special pine-tree, to which, as conscientious sight-seers, it was our duty to cling and crane over till we could see the pool beneath, and the rush of waters and the dizzy height made our brains spin. The waterfall itself is only 400 feet in height, but the

Tseen-chang-yen Waterfall.

stream tumbles and leaps down the valley after it has left the pool for at least as many hundred feet more, before it becomes a quiet well-conducted river. We descended by steep slippery paths through pine-woods and groves of bamboo to the foot of the fall, and at a distance of thirty yards from the fall were drenched with the spray. From this point the scene was in the highest degree sublime and impressive: before us a smooth wall of precipitous rock, from four to five hundred feet high, intersected by a white line of foam, extended in the form of a semicircle on each side. Five hundred feet below lay the green valley shut in by the lofty range beyond.

After returning to our temple, though it was nearly dark, and we had done a good day's work, we could not resist visiting a waterfall, the murmur of which was almost audible from our quarters. The hour of our visit was well timed: the last faint tints of daylight were fading away on the distant mountains; the only sound which broke the absolute stillness of the repose in which all nature was hushed was the continuous plash of the water, as it issued from the deep shadows of a dense mass of overhanging foliage at the head of the gorge, in a long white sheet of foam, like a ghost in the gloaming. Crossing a slab of granite which bridged the stream below the fall, we ascended a long flight of steps skirting a precipitous ledge overhanging the brook, and on reaching the top followed the winding path through the gloomy recesses of the wood, until it debouched upon a small amphitheatre, hemmed in on all sides by lofty hills, which rose abruptly from its circumference: here, buried in the mountains and far from the busy hum of men, lay the sequestered village Sewe-kang-ha, "remote," and, I should think, very "unfriended, melancholy, and slow" as a place of residence; but an exquisite picture of tranquillity and picturesque seclusion. The only evidences of life were the blue wreaths which curled from the thatched roofs, and rested in a light cloud over the hamlet, as though it had put on a night-cap of smoke preparatory to "turning-in." The hour was sufficiently late, at all events, to induce us to take the hint, so we scrambled by another path to the temple, where we

Sewe-kang-ha Waterfall.

found the kitchen crowded with pilgrims, who were going to spend the night here, and who were collected as in a club dining-room, in groups round small square tables, vigorously plying chopsticks. The good fare they were enjoying made them quarrelsome. We heard the noise of their contending voices until long after we had retired to rest, indeed until they were exchanged for snores. The whole establishment was full of lodgers; and overhead, in close proximity on either side of us, worshippers were slumbering.

Some disinterested American had been charitable enough to leave a stove in the temple for the benefit of future travellers, and it was grateful, when we rose in the morning, to warm our hands and drink our coffee by it previous to starting on further explorations. First, however, we were called upon to settle sundry disputes between our coolies and certain devotees, who thought themselves entitled to a preference in the choice of food, accommodation, &c.; nor did our good friends the priests venture to interfere at the risk of offending their customers. The civility of these gentry to us was as unlimited as their curiosity; they perpetually plied us with tea and fingered our garments. I have generally found gloves and corduroy trousers to be the most striking objects of dress to the uncivilised mind; shooting-boots are also curiosities. Our entertainers, however, were becoming accustomed to Europeans, and had evidently smoked a few cigars in their lives before;

but they were particularly amused by my Madras servant, apparently a specimen of humanity heretofore unknown to them: they took him to look at the hideous black deities which guarded the entrance of the temple, a compliment to his personal appearance at which they chuckled hugely, but which he did not seem to appreciate.

An hour's walk over hill-sides cultivated with tea, and through pine-woods, brought us to a pretty valley, divided by a stream fringed with wood, and spanned by a bridge of a single arch, concealed by creepers, their long twisted tendrils, like ladies' tresses, playing on the water. On the bank was the temple Lung-yin-tau, dedicated to the dragon god. After inspecting this grim divinity, we visited the romantic waterfall which bears the same name, where the stream, after peacefully traversing the valley, plunges over a ledge of rock 120 feet high, into a cleft so narrow and precipitous that it is impossible to look into its full depth from above. It derives its name probably from the resemblance which the deep gorge, split into two sombre chasms, is supposed to bear to the jaws of a dragon. Although the waterfall is not so high as some of the others in the neighbourhood, I thought this the most striking and characteristic in these mountains. From thence we proceeded to the Le-shak-yong, a druidical-looking stone of great antiquity, but unknown origin, placed upon a projecting point which commands a panoramic view more beautiful and extensive than even the Maou-kao-tae.

Immediately facing us, at the head of the valley, we had a splendid view of a waterfall, upwards of 200 feet high, which falls in one perpendicular sheet to the bottom, the water dropping in curious snake-like jets without ever touching the smooth surface of the rock, into the pool beneath. Our elevation above the sea at this point did not probably exceed 2000 feet.

We now returned to the temple, and, after a hearty meal, took an affectionate farewell of our holy hosts. We regretted that our time was so limited that we were unable to linger longer in the Snowy Valley, and explore more thoroughly its scenic attractions. In any country they would be worthy of a visit, but in China especially, where the limited excursions of foreigners have disclosed so little of the picturesque, no traveller should visit Ningpo without taking a trip to the mountains; unless, indeed, the scenery they contain is eclipsed by wonders yet to be discovered by those who will explore the whole Empire, under conditions heretofore impossible. We had been fortunate in the time of year for our expedition, and though, while we were there, the Snowy Valley did not justify its name so far as the snow was concerned, in the early morning the water in the paddy-fields was coated with ice; and I observed a few days after at Ningpo, that what fell as rain below had covered the mountains we had left with a snowy mantle.

The peasantry of this district, in spite of their nationality, possessed the *tout ensemble* of mountaineers in all parts of the world. Whether in the Highlands of Scotland, of Circassia, of the Tyrol, of the Himalayas, or of China, there is an indescribable air which I have observed distinguishes them all, while it in no way interferes with their national characteristics. Hot-tempered, good-humoured, huge-calved, independent, hardy, and self-reliant—accustomed to solitude, but disposed to conviviality, I have always found hill-men the pleasantest companions, while the bracing mountain air and constant variety of scene exercises a corresponding influence upon one's own spirits. As we descended the hill, we passed long files of these sturdy mountain men, each staggering under a young pine-tree, and bearing his apparently superhuman load down to market, with a broad grin on his jocund countenance.

We determined to vary our mode of conveyance on our return journey, and on reaching the river Tsze-ke at the foot of the hill, instead of plodding wearily to our boats over miles of level plain, to perform a voyage in a bamboo raft, the river being too swift and shallow for any other description of craft. It was indeed little better than a trout stream. The population of a large village on the river bank, where we engaged the raft, turned out to witness our start, and while the preparations were being made, we inspected a curious mill worked by water-power, by which a number of hammers or pounders were caused to fall with regular stroke into receptacles for grain formed like mortars. Our raft was composed of only ten bamboos, on a level with the water, which flowed freely through the interstices, so that we were obliged to lay some planks upon them to keep us dry. Still movement was impossible except at the price of being ankle-deep in water. The ends of the bamboos were turned up, like the corners of houses and everything else in China. The object, no doubt, was to make a sort of bow, to prevent our being flooded. Upon this fragile construction we intrusted ourselves to the guidance of one man, sending our coolies and chairs overland, and dashed off in company with a

Our Bamboo Rafts.

number of other rafts, principally loaded with wood or charcoal, now grating over the pebbly bed of the stream, now whirled rapidly over a bubbling seething rapid, and then being brought sharp up by an eddy in some deep green pool, where the raftsman's pole could find no bottom, and salmon would have loved to lie. We were objects of great interest to other raftsmen, who ventured on jokes at our expense, so we retaliated by racing them, hoisted umbrellas to favouring gales, and hooked ourselves past our neighbours by holding on to them or poling against them, to the great merriment of the river population. The extreme bitterness of the wind, and the close of day, checked our energies at last, and we were pretty well knocked up by our day's work when we once more reached our boat, and, coiling ourselves at the bottom, indulged in undisturbed slumber until dawn once more found us alongside the good ship Cormorant, in the river off Ningpo.

I found that Lord Elgin had arrived, during my absence from Ningpo, after a cruise up the coast, in the course of which he had visited the ports of Swatow, Amoy, and Foo-chow. At the first of these, which is situated between Canton and Amoy, and is not one of those opened by the treaty of 1842, an illicit trade had sprung up, partly in sugar, which is exported from this point to other ports on the coast in foreign as well as Chinese bottoms, partly in tea, which, from its greater proximity to the tea districts, and the recent troubles at Canton, had found this outlet to the foreign market, and partly in bean-cake, which is brought down in large quantities from Shanghai as an article of manure. Swatow occupies an important position in Chinese commerce ; extensive banking operations are carried on here ; a considerable junk trade radiates from it to the islands of Formosa and Hainan, and different ports on the coast. A good deal of opium is annually imported by our merchants, which is subjected to local duties.

On the 20th of March we left Ningpo in the Furious, on our way to Chusan ; and running over in six hours, dropped anchor in the beautiful landlocked harbour of Tinghae about sunset. On the following morning we landed to explore a locality rendered so notorious during the last war by the prolonged occupation of our forces, and by the terrible experiences through which they passed in this lovely isle, and which have given it a reputation which it has since been admitted it so little merited, that we have never ceased to regret its ultimate abandonment. We no sooner stepped on shore than we obtained evidences of those associations connected with our occupation, which still linger among the inhabitants. Juvenile beggars crowded round us, beseeching cash from "mantalee," which was the nearest approach they could make to the honourable British title of "mandarin." The fort crowns an eminence overlooking the bay, and beneath, along the sea-shore, extends a long straggling suburb, which is connected with the town of Tinghae, situated about a mile and a half inland, by a paved causeway. It is a mean dirty place, with inferior shops, surrounded by a wall, and containing at most 50,000 inhabitants. Passing through it, we entered the pleasant valley beyond; and observing a building in a wood surmounted by a cross, we decided that it was a Roman Catholic mission, and bent our steps thither accordingly.

A priest dressed in Chinese costume met us as we approached, and did the honours of the establishment with great simplicity and cordiality. He was the only European on the island, a Lazarist of the order of St Vincent, and gave us some interesting details of his labours in Kiangsi, where he had resided for ten years. We inspected his industrial farm, cultivated by the boys of the school, a clean chubby-looking set of little fellows, with happy smiling countenances, very different in expression from that of Chinese youth generally. They evidently regarded their spiritual master with feelings of affection and gratitude. Many of them were waifs and strays whom he had picked out of byways and hedges, deserted by their parents on account of some physical infirmity. One was blind, another lame, another's arm and tongue were paralysed. Generally, however, his pupils were the children of converts; the Roman Catholic system being rather to breed converts than to make them, an operation which is becoming daily more simple, as there are upwards of half a million Roman Catholic Christians

"TEMPLE OF SUPREME FELICITY"
Residence of the Allied Missions at Tientsin.

in the Empire. Out of the entire population of Chusan, estimated at 200,000, the priest calculated that about 250 families were converts. Neither he nor his flock were in any way annoyed by the people, although jealously regarded by the authorities and literati. Still no active hostility was exercised towards them; and beyond being occasionally called upon to subscribe to pagodas, or take part in Buddhist ceremonies, they practised their faith unmolested.

We afterwards visited, with our reverend guide, a girl's hospital in the town, which did equal credit to his management with the rest of his establishment. He insisted upon acting as our cicerone over the island, and took us first to see the country residence of a rich Chinese proprietor. It was a good specimen of the ornamental taste of the country. Here were the usual summer-houses buried in rock-work, and approached by labyrinths tunnelled through grottoes, or staircases winding through miniature mountains, and pavilions perched on islands in diminutive seas, connected with the mainland by fragile bridges. Charming little boskets with mossy seats invited to repose in their cool shade, and gorgeous camellias and magnolias in full bloom flung a rich colouring of glowing tints over all.

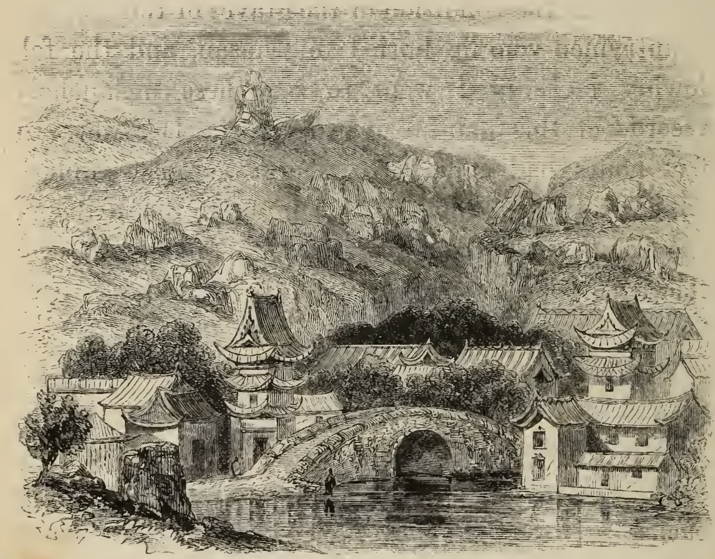
After refreshing ourselves with numerous cups of tea of Chusan growth, which tasted a good deal like an infusion of straw, and the leaves of which looked as green as if they had been picked off the bushes the day before, we started off to the top of one of the highest hills in the neighbourhood, so as to obtain as extensive a view as possible over the island before nightfall. From this elevated spot, at an elevation of 1200 or 1500 feet above the sea, we looked over fertile valleys teeming with life and rich in cultivation; and, throwing ourselves on the grass after our scramble, indulged in vain regrets, as our eyes wandered over the loveliness at our feet, at the infatuation which ever induced us to relinquish a spot not only so highly favoured by nature in point of fertility and scenery, but possessing one of the finest harbours on the coast of China, a commercial position at the outlet of the Yang-tse-Kiang, totally unrivalled, and political advantages of capabilities and situation such as no other spot upon the coast of China can boast.

The island is fifty-one miles in circumference. Fortunately we had but little breath to expend in sighs ; but to judge from the headlong course we took to reach the bottom at the peril of our necks, the holy man who accompanied us must have suspected that despair was the cause of our recklessness ; for on our arriving at the bottom, with impeded utterance and many compliments on Lord Elgin's activity, he went on to assure us that the population of Chusan preserved most flattering and agreeable reminiscences of British rule, and would receive us with open arms whenever we thought proper to resume possession ; and then to calm us, he led the way to a secluded nook in a deep valley, where a picturesque pagoda lay embowered in a dense grove of bamboo, impenetrable to noonday heats; and here we remained and drank more tea, supplied us by Bonzes, till it was time to return on board, whither our kind guide accompanied us, and inspected for the first time in his life a few of the wonders of a British man-of-war.

Captain Osborn had sent on shore a party of men to examine the condition of the graves of those of our countrymen who lie buried in Chusan, and the following morning I went to see these melancholy records of this painful episode of the last war. A few hours had sufficed to clear away the rubbish which had been allowed to accumulate round them; the tombstones themselves were in good preservation, and the men were repainting those which had become partially effaced.

At mid-day we weighed from Tinghae, and, favoured by lovely weather, passed through the intricate windings of the Chusan archipelago, past swelling islands indented with deep bays running back to rich fertile valleys, terraced with cultivation; and through a narrow channel between beetling cliffs of grey weather-worn granite, where the sea surged into dark caverns, and murmured sullenly in deep fissures in the rocks. The scenery and climate reminded me of a former yachting experience among the sunny Grecian isles.

At sunset we dropt anchor in "the Sea of the Water-lilies," off the sacred Island of Pootoo. We devoted a day to the examination of its holy mysteries. A broad paved causeway led us over the low shoulder of a hill into a lovely valley, where a pile of grey pagodas and temples, with up-turned roofs of imperial yellow and walls of vermilion, were embosomed in foliage of the brightest green, and huge impending masses of rugged granite lay scattered upon the steep hillside above, as though they had been glued upon it by some giant hand. A quaint gateway, covered with inscriptions, opened upon a maze of courtyards and a collection of sacred buildings, some especially erected to protect slabs of extreme antiquity inscribed with holy sentiments, others containing enormous bells, struck with a hammer swinging beside them



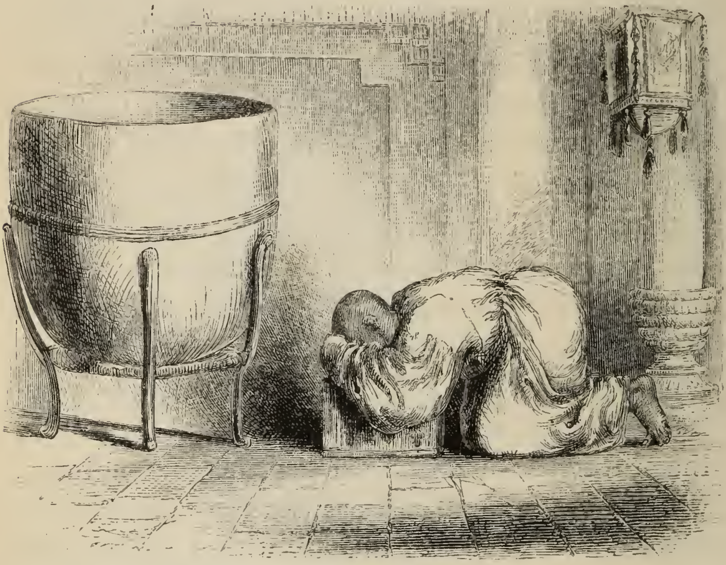
The Temple of Kwang-yin, Pootoo.

instead of a clapper; others, and these were the largest and most numerous, filled with monster images of both sexes and all sizes, from the giant figure of Kwang-yin, the goddess of mercy, to whom the whole was dedicated, to a row of little gods three inches high. In the courtyards were sacred bronzes containing sacred fire, and overshadowed by sacred trees; and there was a sacred pond, full of sacred fishes, covered with the sacred lotus, and spanned by a single-arched bridge.

Everywhere groups of filthy Bonzes were collected, basking half-naked in the sun, and inspecting their own tattered habiliments or those of their neighbours, chanting monotonous prayers, or wandering about telling their beads, crowding round me while I was sketching them, and staring vacantly through their blear eyes upon the strangers. Clad in ragged robes of grey serge, they infested the place like a description of vermin peculiar to it, wearing these ashy-coloured vestments till they dropped off, apparently ignorant of one use of water. Generally covered with cutaneous eruptions, they were, in all cases, pervaded by an atmosphere which rendered their proximity in the highest degree offensive. When we were entertained by the chief priest of the island on tea and preserves in a room of limited dimensions, crowded with these holy men, the odour of their sanctity became altogether unbearable. Our host himself was, however, an exception; he was a man cleanly in his appearance, of a mild and intelligent countenance, and robed in a stole of yellow. He told us that he was the spiritual superior of five hundred priests then on the island; that it was devoted entirely to religious purposes, no layman being allowed to reside upon it, but that a few nuns were numbered in the population. I should have been inclined to suppose that our authority considerably understated the number at five hundred, and from the quantity of Bonzes we saw, Mr Williams' estimate of two thousand appeared more likely to be correct. That gentleman calculates the number of temples, shrines, and monasteries which are collected upon this little island at sixty. We were contented with rambling over the island, and entering five or six.

Bonze at Pootoo.

They all partook, more or less, of the same character, but varied in picturesqueness of situation: one perched upon a cliff, some 200 feet above the waves that broke at its base, contained shrines hewn out of the living rock, approached by narrow stairs which were tunnelled through it; another was a massive pile of buildings built upon the hill-side—its spacious paved courts, enclosed by carved balustrades, and reached by a series of broad flights of steps. In one temple, buried in a grove of camellia trees, we surprised the whole priesthood in the refectory, sitting at long narrow tables, and shovelling rice into their capacious mouths with chopsticks. In another, a respectable-looking young man, who had made a pilgrimage of gratitude to the shrine of his choice, was having a private service for his special benefit, and was prostrating himself vehemently to the clashing of cymbals, the tooting of fifes, and the booming of tom-toms; whilst a venerable Bonze chanted the thanks of the devotee to a wild-visaged deity with a protuberant gilt stomach. Everywhere the heavy perfume of incense mingled with the fouler odours of priests, and everywhere ponderous curtains and embroidered drapery concealed the same collection of burning joss-sticks and deformed divinities. Some of the temples were in a state of great decay, others were being repaired out of alms and subscriptions supplied by pious worshippers; for it is only fair to the holy men to say that if they neglect their own persons they are devoted in their attentions to the objects of their *culte.* It is said, however, that many of the members of the fraternity of Pootoo are criminals, who have sought refuge in this asylum, and atone for their past lives by a life of idleness and filth, superstition and celibacy.



Bonze Praying.

It was a relief to turn our backs upon these scenes, and, ascending to the highest point in the island, enjoy a sublimer worship in the grand temple of nature. On our way up the long flight of steps by which we reached a point 1200 feet above the sea-level, we passed numerous shrines where priests begged and pilgrims rested. In niches cut out of the bank, devoted men passed their days in solitude, perpetually repeating the formula to which the whole island rings. Every building is covered with this one inscription, and every shaven inhabitant passes the greater part of each day in mumbling incessantly the pious invocation. All other ideas seem merged into this one, which is embodied in a continuous singsong chant of "Ometo Fuh, Ometo Buddhu." Men sit tapping little wooden bells, saying Ometo Fuh throughout the livelong day; and their particular haunt seemed to be the steps up the mountain. At last we passed them all, and standing on its highest peak, looked over the island-studded sea, with placid bays enclosed between long rocky promontories, and hamlets nestling in the woods on distant islands, and broad acres of cultivation extending far up the hillsides, while our own little isle was carpeted with fields of flowering rape of the brightest yellow, dotted with groves and temples, intersected with broad stone causeways worn by the incessant tramp, for centuries past, of priest and pilgrim, and bearing marks of a venerable old age in its ruined shrines, gnarled old trees, hoary moss-grown rocks, and equally hoary occupants.

Leaving Pootoo, we crossed the muddy bay of Hang-chow to Chapoo, celebrated by a bloody but profitless victory during the last war. Once important as one of the termini of the Grand Canal (before that work was destroyed), it still retains some little mercantile position, as the port of the populous and wealthy city of Hang-chow, and the only port on the coast open to trade from Japan.

Four junks from those islands were now lying here. It is, however, worthless to us as a new port, partly because the harbour is exposed and shallow, and partly because Chapoo is connected with Shanghai by a canal, from which it is only about sixty miles distant. A low irregular range of hills border the alluvial plain on which the town is situated, and on their sides and summits forts have been erected. We landed and ascended one of these overlooking the compact walled city, and the vast plain beyond which extended in a blaze of variegated crops without an eminence higher than a pagoda, and with a land horizon stretching in one unbroken line for at least forty-five miles.

CHAPTER XIII.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT—LORD ELGIN'S REPLY—SIR JOHN BOWRING'S VISIT TO THE PEIHO—COURSE PURSUED ON THAT OCCASION—LORD ELGIN'S APPLICATION FOR GUNBOATS—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION OF SICCAWAY—SYSTEM OF EDUCATION—BARREN RESULTS OF MISSIONARY LABOUR—SUPERSTITIOUS PRACTICES OF CONVERTS—A "FEAST OF TABERNACLES"—THE CATHEDRAL OF TONK-A-DOO—DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE—NON-ARRIVAL OF THE ADMIRAL—DEPARTURE OF THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES FOR THE NORTH—THE MIATOU STRAITS—AGROUND ON A SANDBANK—ARRIVAL IN THE GULF OF PECHELEE—DREARY WEATHER—AN EXPEDITION ACROSS THE BAR—JUNK-HUNTING—ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICAN MINISTER—DIFFICULTIES OF THE SITUATION—UNNECESSARY DELAYS—DIPLOMATIC DIFFICULTIES—ASPECT OF THE FORTS—ARRIVAL OF THE ADMIRAL—THE DESPATCH-VESSELS CROSS THE BAR—EXPIRY OF THE DELAY—POSTPONEMENT OF ATTACK—POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE DELAY.

The day after our arrival at Shanghai, Lord Elgin received from Pekin the reply of the Imperial Government to the despatches which I had delivered for transmission at Soo-chow, a month before. Although by the Treaty of Nankin the right is secured to Her Majesty's representative in China, to correspond direct with the highest Imperial authority in the Empire, the prime-minister Yu, to whom the communications of his Excellency had been addressed, did not condescend to respond, but instructed the authorities of the Two Kiangs to make a communication to the British Plenipotentiary, in which, after adverting to the recent proceedings at Canton, it was stated that Yeh was in consequence degraded, and superseded by Hwang, who alone was authorised to manage barbarian affairs at that city, whither we were enjoined to return, and at no other place. The prime-minister went on to state, that "there being a particular sphere of duty allotted to every official on the establishment of the Celestial Empire, and the principle that between them and the foreigner there is no intercourse being one ever religiously adhered to by the servants of our government of China, it would not be proper for me to reply in person to the letter of the English Minister. Let your Excellencies (the authorities of the Two Kiangs) therefore transmit to him all that I have said above, and his letter will no way be left unanswered."

This letter was returned to the authorities of the Two Kiangs, as an unjustifiable disregard of that clause of the treaty of Nankin which states, "That it is agreed that her Britannic Majesty's chief high officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese high officers, both in the capital and in the provinces, under the term, 'communication.'"

Under these circumstances, Lord Elgin, after quoting the above clause in reply, states that it is his intention to "proceed at once to the north, in order that he may place himself in more direct communication with the high officers of the Imperial Government at the capital." As this was a measure which the Ambassador had always considered the most likely to be productive of successful results, so far as negotiation was concerned, he did not regret that the unwarrantable course taken by the prime-minister rendered the step imperative. The French, Russian, and American ministers received communications more or less to the same effect, except that Count Poutiatine was directed to repair to the Amour, instead of to Canton; and they all agreed with Lord Elgin that the proper, and indeed only course to be pursued, was to appear with as little delay as possible with a sufficiently strong force at the mouth of the Peiho, to enforce that compliance with treaty obligations which the Government so pertinaciously refused.

It was interesting, in connection with the determination thus arrived at by the allied Plenipotentiaries, to refer to the document found in Yeh's yamun, relating to the visit of Sir John Bowring, and Mr Maclane the United States Commissioner, to the Peiho in 1854. They too had endeavoured, but with even less success, to communicate with the Imperial Government through the authorities of the Two Kiangs. Sir J. Bowring had been refused an audience altogether, and Mr Maclane stopped at Kwan-shan, outside Soochow, as already described, and there remonstrated with on the impropriety of his proceeding to the north. At first Iliang, the governor-general, seemed to think these remonstrances had proved effectual; but he afterwards had misgivings on the subject, for, alluding to Sir John Bowring's complaint against Yeh for want of politeness, and the visit he threatens to the Peiho in consequence, he says: "It is, however, a standing device of the barbarians to make particular circumstances the plea of demands to be insisted on; whatever these chiefs may insinuate (or whisper) against Yeh-Ming-Chin, it is evident that Yeh-Ming-Chin is he whom they are used to fear. They say they are going to Tientsin. This may be, notwithstanding, an assertion made to compel acquiescence in their demands. Your slave has commanded them with affectionate earnestness to stay; and the ships of their chief have not as yet departed. Still there is no certainty, so inconsistent and capricious is the barbarian character, that they will not after all sail north, and thereby attempt to constrain the Imperial authority, and the high provincial authorities of the coast jurisdictions." To which the Emperor replies that it is quite true that "it is the nature of barbarians to be cunning and malicious;" and he further directs Iliang to inform them that "a force is assembled at Tientsin as the clouds in number"—all clearly showing how much the presence of foreigners was dreaded in the neighbourhood of the capital, and how effectual in all probability any pressure applied there would be.

It was only to be regretted that this very expedition, to which the above papers refer, had gone to the north and returned *re infecta.* This circumstance in itself was calculated to diminish the effect of another; and indeed, as we afterwards discovered, the same Commissioners were sent to meet us at Takoo, as had met the English and American Commissioners on the former occasion, and no doubts seemed to have been entertained at headquarters that they were endowed with a special faculty for dealing with barbarians, and that we should be as easily disposed of as our predecessors.

The decision in favour of an early move northward was arrived at on the 1st of April, the non-appearance of any Imperial Commissioner before the last day of March, the period appointed for the commencement of negotiations at Shanghai, having released the allied Plenipotentiaries from their engagements upon this head. In view of this contingency, which Lord Elgin had before leaving Hong-Kong anticipated as probable, he had upon the 2d of March addressed to the Admiral a letter, stating that he was about to proceed to Shanghai, in the hope of meeting there a properly qualified plenipotentiary; but his Lordship went on to say: "If I should be disappointed in this hope, it may be necessary, in pursuance of the policy prescribed by her Majesty's Government, to bring pressure to bear at some point near the capital. With a view to this contingency, I think it desirable that your Excellency should collect at Shanghai, towards the end of March, or as soon after as may be convenient, as large a fleet, more especially of gunboats drawing little water, as you can spare from service elsewhere."*

In reply to which communication the Admiral states : "I beg to acquaint your Excellency, that for some time past my attention has been directed to this object. One of the gunboats, and one gun-vessel have already sailed for Shanghai, and arrangements are in progress for others to follow. It is my intention to sail for Shanghai in the 'Calcutta,' should nothing prevent, on or about the 16th instant." As a month had now elapsed since this letter was written, and every day was of importance, we were anxiously looking out for the first instalment of gunboats now due, as well as for the Admiral himself, whose arrival was daily expected.

Meantime the weather at Shanghai was favourable for excursions, though the neighbourhood presented few attractions of any interest. One day we took a walk of twelve miles to visit the Roman Catholic College and Missionary Establishment of Siccaway. The country is such a dead level that pedestrian exercise soon becomes wearisome. We followed narrow paths between fields of wheat, beans, and other cultivation reeking with high-flavoured manure, but bearing nevertheless thin crops and abundance of weeds. The land in China, even in the elaborate cultivation of their kitchen-gardens, is never properly worked. The surface merely is scratched, and then deluged with strong manure. The consequence is that, though the young crops sometimes look green and promising, they seldom bear heavily.

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* Blue-Book, p. 223.

The mission buildings are pleasantly situated on the banks of a small canal. We were received at the door by some priests, dressed as usual in Chinese costume, who conducted us over the establishment. We found the schoolrooms full of noisy students, all swaying their bodies to and fro over their desks, and reciting their lessons to themselves in a loud monotonous chant, each apparently profoundly indifferent to the sharp tones which were ringing in his ears from his neighbour on either side. There were altogether eighty young men and boys in the several schoolrooms, deep in the study of the classics and polite learning of the Chinese, for the system of the Roman Catholics consists not so much in imbuing the students with the dogmas of their own faith, as in educating them to such a point in the literature of their country, as shall enable them to compete successfully with their fellows for the highest honours of the Empire, at the competitive examinations. By these means, if they do not gain converts, they secure to themselves protection in high places, and ever after have friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, upon whom they can rely; for the tie formed between the student and his teacher at these establishments is not easily broken, and the kindness and toleration with which he has been treated by the Roman Catholics, leaves even in the mind of the stern Confucian a strong impression in favour of that class to whom he owes his present greatness, and who, whatever their tenets, have at all events in his own case practised some of the noblest maxims of the great philosopher. I was informed that the Roman Catholic missions could boast of converts even among the mandarins; while numerous instances of devotion and acts of private charity to the missionaries and their converts were related, both on the part of those Chinese who were members of the Church, and of those who had merely benefited from its institutions.

Notwithstanding, however, the system upon which Roman Catholic missionary enterprise is based in China, of conforming as much as possible to existing prejudices, and conciliating to the uttermost where it cannot convince, I do not think that even under the new treaty, or the most favourable conditions which can possibly be devised, its influence will ever be felt upon the governing classes. With the masses in almost all countries where it has been introduced at all, the Roman Catholic religion has been popular; but the emissaries of that plagiarist on their own philosopher, Mons. Auguste Comte, would have a greater chance of success among the literati of China than those of the Pope. I was informed by a high clerical Protestant authority, that, out of the mass of Protestant converts hitherto made, there were only five whom he really believed to be sincere; and there is no reason to suppose that the proportion should be greater among the more intelligent of the Roman Catholics.

Among the ignorant and superstitious, doubtless many may possess a sort of mongrel belief; but their faith cannot be worth much, when it is obtained by conceding to them the permission to observe their own festivals, to worship at the graves of their ancestors, and go through all their own ceremonies of mourning, with the exception of burning joss-paper. At Chusan, indeed, our reverend friend told us that the converts often refused to take part in these ceremonies; but the fact that they should be permitted to do so, and still retain their Christian name and profession, is significant. The point is one which has caused a serious dissension between the Dominicans and Jesuits, the latter being in favour of the greatest latitude being given to the religious practices of the converts. The mission at Siccaway was almost entirely conducted by Jesuits. The best possible understanding evidently subsisted between them and their pupils, whose countenances all bore evidence of happiness and contentment. Notwithstanding the fact that twelve hours out of the twenty-four were devoted to work or religious exercises, the establishment was kept scrupulously clean: the dormitories were models of neatness; so that habits foreign to the Chinese domestic character were being instilled into the inmates. Some specimens of modelling in clay, by one of the elder students, gave promise of considerable talent as an artist.

The day of our visit to Siccaway happened to be a holiday in honour of the approach of spring—a

Chinese "Feast of Tabernacles," and we met crowds in gala dresses, returning from the ceremonies which they had attended to propitiate the Ceres of the Celestial Empire. Numbers of Bonzes in long grey robes were accompanied by soldiers in tall conical head-dresses, like red foolscaps; and at one of the temples which we entered, gongs were beating, and worshippers prostrating themselves incessantly: perhaps some of them formed part of the crowd we saw no less reverently adoring the Virgin Mary on the following Sunday at the Cathedral at Tonk-a-doo. Here one side of the spacious area was filled by a large attendance of Chinese female converts, whose devout demeanour testified to their sincerity, and whose neat and occasionally handsome costume, and pleasing countenances, formed an agreeable contrast to the majority of the fair sex the stranger meets in a Chinese town, and of which, if he has no opportunity of seeing the better classes, he will probably form an unfavourable opinion.

The Cathedral is adorned with sacred pictures drawn in conformity with Chinese notions, though the shaven crowns and tails of the Apostles, and small feet of the women, are startling to an occidental eye; but the principal curiosity of the Cathedral is the organ, which has been constructed by Chinese mechanics, and the pipes of which are composed simply of the hollow bamboo of different sizes. The tones which it emitted, though powerful, were soft and melodious, except in some of the higher notes.

There is a college attached to the Cathedral. The students here are all converts, and many of them were undergoing a course of preparation as native missionaries and catechists.

The efforts of the Protestant missionaries at Shanghai are devoted rather to the education of youth than the conversion of adults. Ningpo is regarded as the station at which their labours in this latter respect have been most satisfactory. At Shanghai, about 400 children are under Protestant instruction, but they are not, for the most part, taught English, and only the most rudimentary works in their own classics. Their education seems likely, therefore, to be of little service to them, either amongst their own countrymen or foreigners. It has been found at Hong-Kong that a knowledge of English exposes youths to temptations, against which not even the principles they have, or ought to have imbibed, can protect them ; and in too many instances the knowledge they have acquired only serves to increase their evil influence. In the American schools at Shanghai, however, English is taught ; some of the girls in the schools of these latter missions, more especially, had attained a very extensive and sound knowledge of the language ; and, so far as one could judge from their appearance, the most favourable results might be augured from the training they had undergone.

There is probably no country in which missionary enterprise is conducted under greater difficulties than in China, our isolated position, on the rim, as it were, of the Empire, rendering it difficult for the missionaries to come into such close contact with the people as will enable them to acquire any lasting influence. A period of from two to three years after his arrival in the country is employed by the missionary in learning the language, which confines him to the particular districts in which the dialect is spoken, and which is not understood elsewhere. He is even then not able to settle away from those ports where the vices of the European population go far towards neutralising his efforts. The Roman Catholic, on the other hand, does not remain above four or five months at a station, before he is turned out upon the field of his labours, and left to pick up the language as best he may, living with the Chinese, dressing as they do, and altogether identifying himself with those whom he seeks to influence. With the exception of Mr Burn, comparatively few of our missionaries have followed this example. The opening of the country, however, by the new Treaty, and the protection which it guarantees to Christian missionaries, will doubtless inaugurate a new era in evangelical enterprise.

On the 3d of April we received intelligence from the south that the Admiral had postponed his departure for ten days. Though considerably embarrassed by this circumstance, Lord Elgin decided, in conjunction with Baron Gros, that it was expedient that the allied Plenipotentiaries should proceed to the mouth of the Peiho, in accordance with the determination which had been so strongly expressed to the Chinese Government, as any appearance of wavering at so critical a juncture would be liable to entail serious results. In order, however, as far as possible to carry out his original policy, His Excellency took on himself the responsibility of requesting Sir Frederick Nicolson, then senior officer at Shanghai, to supply him with as large a naval force as could be spared from the station. The opportune arrival of the Highflyer, as relief of the Pique, enabled Sir F. Nicolson to accompany us himself to the north, and the Cormorant, despatch gun-vessel, and Slaney gunboat, completed our little squadron. His Excellency, before his departure, left a letter for the Admiral, in which he states:[*] "I am most anxious for the arrival of the gunboats drawing little water, which are referred to in your letter to me of the 2d ultimo, because I am confident that nothing will be so likely to bring the Imperial Government to terms as the appearance of vessels of war within the bar of the Peiho river. Such vessels will, moreover, be indispensable if it should be necessary to ascend that river to Tientsin."

At daylight on the morning of the 10th we left Shanghai with the Slaney in tow: the Russian steamer "Amerika," with Count Poutiatine on board, had left a day or two previously, and the Audacieuse and Minnesota were to follow immediately. Instructions were left with Captain Shadwell, of the Highflyer, to forward without delay any British man-of-war that might arrive at Shanghai.

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[*] Blue-Book, Earl of Elgin to Sir M. Seymour, 8th April 1858.

We were favoured with lovely weather up the Yellow Sea. The force of the north-west monsoon was apparently expended, and we were followed by light southerly gales. To these warm winds, and the low temperature of the water in consequence of the melting of the winter snows, was doubtless to be attributed the haze that shrouded the horizon, and through which, on the morning of the 13th, loomed indistinctly the lofty promontory of Shantung, the easternmost point of China. After rounding the cape we coasted along its northern shore, passing the port of Chee-foo, where we observed many junks at anchor in the distance. This town lies at the head of the bay of Ki-san-sen; and was entered by Lord Macartney by mistake for Teng-chow. A high rocky promontory, connected with the mainland by a low sandy isthmus, terminates in a bold peak, rising to a height of 1130 feet above the sea ; beyond this the shore is sandy, with a background of barren mountains. Altogether the scenery reminded me of some parts of the coast of Barbary, while the climate, on that day, was exactly that of the Mediterranean in early spring. Soon after, our experience destroyed any hope of this analogy lasting.

At 5 P.M. we sighted the large walled town of Teng-chow, one of the ports opened by the new treaty. The city is in the form of a parallelogram, and of considerable extent, the walls running along the sea-shore for upwards of three miles. At the extreme right they terminate in a hill, crowned by a citadel and joss-house. The coast, however, does not afford any shelter at this point, nor did we see any junks at anchor off the town. The most available harbour for Teng-chow is situated in the Miatou group. These islands, immediately opposite the city, are separated from the mainland by straits about four miles across ; the largest and nearest is Chang-shan—it is seven miles long and three broad. Here, in all probability, will be established the future foreign settlement. It forms one side of a secure bay, in which we saw an enormous fleet of grain-junks at anchor. We were allowed some little leisure to make observations on the subject, as, while steaming rapidly through the straits, we suddenly grounded with considerable force upon a sandbank at a spot where the chart gave nine fathoms of water. Our gunboat in tow had acquired such impetus that she ran into our quarter, and lost her mizen-mast before she could get clear of us. A tide running like a mill-race, and a strong north-west breeze, increased the difficulties of the situation ; but by dint of getting all our heavy gear aft, going vigorously full speed astern, and making the men roll and jump the ship, at the expiration of an hour our exertions were rewarded with success. Although it was by this time dark, our indefatigable and skilful master, Mr Court, carried us safely through the straits. As this gentleman had performed the north-west passage as the master of Sir Robert Maclure's ship

"Investigator," his nerves had undergone a training which rendered them proof under all circumstances.

The province of Shantung, of which Teng-chow is the principal seaboard city, possesses the enviable notoriety in China of having produced its greatest philosopher, Confucius. Its most distinguishing feature is its lofty range of mountains, of which the highest, Tai-shan, is celebrated throughout the Empire. Notwithstanding its mountainous character and barren aspect, Shantung alone contains a population equal to that of the United Kingdom, distributed over an area not exceeding that of England, Scotland, and Wales.

Daylight of the 14th April found us ploughing the muddy waters of the Gulf. Our soundings, which did not vary, gave us ten fathoms. In many respects the Gulf of Pechelee resembles the Sea of Azoff, but its waters are not quite so green or thick. We observed numerous junks on their way to or from the mouth of the Peiho; and the varied character of their construction proved that many were from the ports of Manchouria, or perhaps even the Corea. Towards the afternoon it began to shoal, and this was the only indication that we had reached our destination. Nothing could be more dreary than the scene when the cry of four fathoms was followed by the order "Stop her!" which we were loth to construe into "Stop here." It was dreadful to contemplate the prospect of remaining permanently at anchor in so forlorn a spot. Not a sign of land broke the monotony of the dim hazy horizon. The turbid waters were lashed into foam by gales which spun round to every point on the compass with incredible velocity, and kept the gulf in the condition of a caldron of boiling pea-soup. Just as we were going to let go the anchor in despair, we descried through the misty atmosphere the little "Amerika" at anchor, and steamed off to her for consolation and company. Count Poutiatine had already communicated with the shore, and an opaque white-button mandarin had received a note which he had sent ashore notifying his arrival. The party had not landed, but a large crowd of spectators had collected on the shore to inspect them. Presents had afterwards been sent off, which, however, the Russians had declined.

While communicating with the Amerika, the Pique hove in sight; and as we found that, at the Amerika's anchorage, we should be aground at low-water, we weighed and anchored within half a mile of the frigate. At low tide we had twenty-two feet of water, the distance from the shore being somewhat over eight miles. As the coast of the province of Chili is very flat, the mud forts at the mouth of the Peiho were only visible from the deck of the Furious during brilliant sunsets, and on other rare occasions, which, however, for the first few days of our stay did not present themselves. Cutting north-east gales swept over the dreary waters of the Gulf, and whistled dolefully through the shrouds, ill preparing us to meet the sudden transition; blasts of hot air, charged with impalpable dust from the desert of Gobi, not only completely obscured the horizon, but cracked our lips, parched our throats, and insinuated itself into the innermost recesses of our clothing, or served as a general pepper to our food. Then would come another change of wind, and a pitiless rain ; and the dust we had been anathematising became visible, as in muddy runnels it trickled down the rigging and sides of the funnels.

On the second day after our arrival in the Gulf, the Cormorant made her appearance, and anchored near the bar. As Lord Elgin had not abandoned his intention of pushing up to Tientsin with as little delay as possible, the Slaney, Lieutenant Hoskins, was sent across the bar to capture a few empty junks, into which the Cormorant might discharge her coal and other dead-weight, previous to trying the experiment of crossing.

I proceeded in the Slaney on this expedition, glad of the opportunity of obtaining a nearer view of the forts of which we had heard so much and knew so little. We found the bar to be about a mile wide, the channel marked by stakes, from which hung bunches of black net. At the top of high-water (springs), there was upwards of eleven feet of water at the shallowest part ; and, as we afterwards found, at dead neaps the depth was eighteen inches or two feet. There is, however, scarcely any inequality in the surface of the bottom. For a mile it is as flat as a billiard-table, and as hard.

Crowds of junks were entering the river like chickens running for shelter. Our appearance evidently caused no little sensation among them, which was not diminished when they saw one of their number suddenly boarded by a boat-load of barbarians, and her head put out to sea. Propelling the unwieldy craft with long poles, they accompanied their efforts to escape with a loud cry of alarm, which was taken up by each successive junk, until the sounds died away in the distance. However, we had no hostile intentions, and our wants were limited to four or five empty junks: two of these, capable of carrying a hundred or a hundred and fifty tons each, were despatched to the Cormorant; the others were taken in tow by the Slaney, and were appropriated by the Pique and Furious, as likely to prove useful in our ascent of the river.

This expedition had led us right across the bar, and we pushed our reconnaissance to within a mile of the forts. We made out three forts on the south, and two on the north bank of the river. Innumerable banners fluttered from the parapets and embrasures, waving defiance; and an extensive crowd, probably of soldiers, were drawn up along the whole length of the batteries, watching, no doubt with no small wonderment, the evolutions of the little Slaney as she pounced upon her prey, and went puffing off over the bar in the wind's eye with a string of junks at her stern. Some of these junks were of a different construction from those we had been accustomed to see in the south; many of them had come across the Gulf from New-chwang with grain or beans, and some very possibly from the Corea. The crews at first were much alarmed, but upon discovering that our intentions were harmless, entirely recovered their equanimity; and when further informed that they should be sent on shore and receive a reasonable sum as the hire of their boats whilst they were employed, they seemed quite reconciled to the arrangement, and proved their confidence in us some time after, by getting paid part of the junk hire in advance, and then taking advantage of a dark night secretly to come and endeavour to abstract the junks from their moorings.

The next day, two petty mandarins came on board, evidently on a tour of inspection, as they were not the bearers of any message; indeed, hitherto we had had no official communication with the shore. The arrival of the United States steamer Mississippi, with Mr Reed on board, doubtless afforded these gentlemen fresh matter for speculation.

The Nimrod, Captain Dew, a despatch gun-vessel of rather greater draught than the Cormorant, and which had been forwarded by Captain Shadwell, reached the anchorage on the 19th; but by this time the spring-tides had passed. It was considered impossible for the Nimrod, and a rash experiment for the Cormorant, to attempt the traject. Under these circumstances there was only one gunboat available, and although it was highly probable that at that period she might have passed the forts without being fired upon, still it was a risk which neither Lord Elgin nor Sir Frederick Nicolson felt justified in incurring. There was therefore no alternative but to await patiently the arrival of the admirals and a larger force — a necessity which ultimately compelled Lord Elgin to abandon entirely his original policy. It had been his hope, when he proceeded from Shanghai to the north, that at or about the time of his arrival in the Gulf of Pechelee, a force, especially of gunboats drawing little water, would be collected there, sufficiently large to enable him to approach the capital at once, and to conclude a peace, at such a period of the year as would have admitted of his visiting Pekin before the hot season.

If this plan had been carried out, not only would many of the inconveniences I shall have to detail been avoided, but the difficult question of direct intercourse with the Emperor would have been solved, at a moment when there were unusual facilities for settling it satisfactorily. Unfortunately, this hope was not realised. In order to employ the time which elapsed before the arrival of the gunboats, it was necessary to spend five weeks in temporising at the mouth of the Peiho, during which time the Chinese authorities not unnaturally strengthened their defences, and sent orders to the Braves in the neighbourhood of Canton to harass us in our occupation of the city. A further consequence of this delay was, that before the Treaty of Tientsin was concluded, the thermometer was 96° in the shade,—a state of things which, coupled with the urgent call from Hong-Kong and Canton for the return of the force, rendered any advance on the capital highly inexpedient. Owing to this circumstance, it was left for the minister charged with the ratification of the treaty to solve the delicate questions involved in the reception of a British mission at Pekin.

Meanwhile our only excitement consisted in sounding and reconnoitring the mouth of the river. The result of our investigations only confirmed us in our original estimate of the insignificance of the forts, which were totally unprotected from attack from the rear, and, though formidable in their extent and display of banners, were little more than a line of mud batteries. During the five weeks which elapsed before they were attacked, hundreds of men were employed in strengthening and adding to them; we could observe guns of heavy calibre daily taking the places in the embrasures of the flaunting banners.

Sometimes sundry members of the mission would dispense with naval assistance upon these occasions, and one dark night when three or four of us were navigating a very unseaworthy native craft, we were caught in a storm, and more by good luck than good management were picked up by the Slaney, and thus saved from prematurely making acquaintance with the forts of Takoo. It needed an occasional adventure of this sort to relieve the excessive monotony of our existence.

The arrival of Baron Gros, on the 21st, was the signal for renewed diplomatic action, and the four Plenipotentiaries, being now assembled in the Gulf, decided on severally despatching to the prime-minister Yu, with whom they had already communicated through Soo-chow, another letter. Lord Elgin, in this despatch to the prime-minister, notified his arrival at the mouth of the Peiho, in pursuance of the intimation expressed in his letter from Shanghai of the 1st instant, of placing himself in more immediate communication with the high officers of the Imperial Government at the capital; and his Excellency went on to say, that he was "prepared to meet at Takoo, either on board of his own ship or on shore, a minister duly authorised by the Emperor of China to treat with him, and to settle by negotiation the several questions affecting the relations of Great Britain with China, which are detailed in a letter of the undersigned to the prime-minister, bearing date February 11.

"If before the expiry of six days from the date of the present communication, a minister so accredited shall not have presented himself at Takoo, the undersigned will consider this pacific overture to have been rejected, and deem himself to be thenceforward at liberty to adopt such further measures for enforcing the just claims of his government on that of China as he may think expedient."

Although Tientsin had been the point originally intended for negotiation, Lord Elgin was compelled, now that he found himself deprived of all certainty of ever reaching that place, to name Takoo.

On the 24th April the Slaney towed in the boats of the four Powers, their several flags floating gaily in the morning breeze. I accompanied Mr Wade, who was charged with the delivery of the letter. As it was low-water, we left the Slaney at the bar, and pulled into the river to a wooden causeway, which, crossing the mud flat from the centre fort, seemed to indicate the principal landing-place. Here we were received by a transparent blue-button mandarin, who apologised profusely for being obliged to refuse our request to land. So we received him into our boats, and delivered the letters to him. Meanwhile a large crowd, chiefly of soldiers, collected round us as spectators. They were fine-looking men, with a uniform consisting of an ample brown cape with a broad pink border, over long blue coats and trousers. During the short while that the conference between Mr Wade and the mandarin lasted in the boat, we were narrowly inspecting the "terrain" generally. Some of the brass pieces were of enormous calibre, but I could not count above fifty at this time. At the other end of the jetty to which we were moored, a large blue tent had been pitched for the reception of sundry high officials who were expected. At that moment some of the Russians were on shore, having an audience with the treasurer of the province. We, however, had not insinuated ourselves so deeply into the good graces of the Chinese as our allies, whose neutral attitude naturally placed them on a different footing *vis-à-vis* the Imperial Government, which every day of delay enabled them to improve.

From this point the forts looked like a range of huge perigord pies, the flags rather aiding their resemblance to ornamented pastry. These banners were angular in shape, with a scolloped border and white spots on a blue or yellow ground.

As we had at this time eighteen gunboats in the China seas, we were still sanguine enough to hope that, before the expiry of the term fixed in the abovementioned letter to the Prime Minister, the two Admirals would arrive in the Gulf, accompanied by a force of gunboats sufficient, should that step prove necessary, to render the capture of the forts an easy operation. Great was our disappointment when, after beating back from our mission into the forts, we found the only accession to the squadron was the flagship Calcutta, but no gunboat or chance of any for some days. However, those energetic officers Captains Dew and Saumarez had satisfied themselves, after repeated inspections of the bar, that it would be possible to force the long-heeled craft they commanded across it. The Coromandel (Admiral's tender), a paddle-wheel steamer, was also available for the same purpose; and the appearance, on the following day, of Admiral Rigault de Genouilly, accompanied by all his force, including three gunboats, once more raised our hopes of getting speedily to Tientsin.

The arrival of these vessels convinced us that, so far as the monsoon was concerned, there existed no obstacle to the passage of our gunboats along the coast. They had already weathered the Cape, and were now not surely incapable of following in the wake of the French. Indeed, had there been any chance of delay arising from this cause, it would probably have been mentioned when the gunboats were first applied for. Inasmuch, however, as, notwithstanding their absence, the allied force had now become formidable, Lord Elgin lost no time in repeating to the Admiral his opinion of the importance of a movement on Tientsin ; and it was arranged that an attempt should be made at the first spring-tides to push the despatch-vessels over the bar, so that they might be in readiness, should the answer of the Prime Minister render necessary the capture of the forts on the 1st of May. On the 28th of April the first attempt was made, but the tide was not sufficiently high for our vessels, though some of the French gunboats, which drew less water, succeeded in scraping over. On the following day, however, the Nimrod was forced over by her indefatigable commander, while the Cormorant ran past all the French gunboats, and anchored within about 1500 yards of the forts. When this little squadron was joined by the Coromandel, we had seven men-of-war inside the bar.

On the 30th an extremely unsatisfactory communication was received from Tan, governor-general of Chili, stating that he had, in conjunction with a mandarin named Tsung-lun, director-general of granaries, and Wu, under-secretary of the cabinet, been appointed Commissioner to meet the foreign Plenipotentiaries at Takoo, and enter upon negotiations. As he did not allude to the nature or extent of the powers with which he was invested, he was called upon to define them, and informed that, if they were not as full as those held by Lord Elgin, and specified in his former communications as required, he (the Ambassador) would regard his pacific overture for the appointment of a "duly qualified officer" as rejected. The reply to this letter was to the effect that the powers of Tan, Tsung, and Wu were limited to reporting our demands, &c., to the capital. The whole of this correspondence took place on the 30th. Under these circumstances, the only course left seemed to be, to send in an ultimatum to Tan, stating that the Plenipotentiaries had now placed the matter in the hands of the allied naval authorities.

As the 1st of May had been the day originally fixed as the expiry of the "*delai fatal*," the excitement became pretty general throughout the fleet on the 30th, more especially in consequence of a signal being made by the flagship for the small-arm men to hold themselves in readiness for landing. General orders were also issued by the Admiral, containing the dispositions of attack. On the 1st, consequently, great were the preparations on board the Furious. Excited midshipmen, staggering under blankets, canteens, and havresacks, rushed frantically about the deck; the landing-parties had their rations served out, and were told off; the paddle-box boats were lowered, and the guns put in them; and all were on the tiptoe of expectation until the afternoon, when it began to be whispered that a change had taken place in the views of the naval Commander-in-chief, and that an attack on the forts was indefinitely postponed. This took all the world by surprise, as nothing had occurred which could explain this alteration of plan.

Thus a second time the policy which Lord Elgin had determined to carry out in his movement to the north sustained a check. On the first occasion, in consequence of the absence of gunboats to support him on his arrival in the Gulf, he had been compelled to invite a Chinese plenipotentiary to meet him at the mouth of the Peiho, instead of proceeding to some point nearer to the capital,—a change of plan which was very injurious, because the mouth of the Peiho was the scene of the abortive negotiations of Sir John Bowring in 1854; and now again, when the Chinese Plenipotentiaries had failed to produce their credentials within a fixed period, he was thwarted in his desire to foil their attempts at evasion, by a rapid and immediate movement up the country. The consequences of these delays were serious in the extreme. In a military point of view they are graphically described in the Admiral's despatch of the 21st May, upon the occasion of the taking of the forts three weeks afterwards. "From the arrival of the Ambassadors on the 14th of April," says his Excellency, "the Chinese have used every exertion to strengthen the forts at the entrance to the Peiho ; earthworks, sandbag batteries, and parapets for the heavy gingalls, have been erected on both sides for a distance of nearly a mile in length, upon which eighty-seven guns in position were visible ; and the whole shore had been piled to oppose a landing." Politically they were even more disastrous, because, by obliging Lord Elgin to protract, at the mouth of the Peiho, negotiations which he clearly saw could lead to no good result, they gave to his proceedings a vacillating character, which was calculated to strengthen the self-confidence of the Chinese diplomatists.

CHAPTER XIV.

PERILOUS POSITION OF DESPATCH GUNBOATS—STRENGTHENING OF THE FORTS — ARRIVAL OF CHINESE REINFORCEMENTS — THE QUESTION OF FULL POWERS—ANGLO-AMERICAN VISIT TO THE PEIHO IN 1854—INTERCOURSE ON THAT OCCASION—INTERVIEW WITH TSUNG AND TAN—MEMORIAL OF COMMISSIONERS IN 1854—REFERENCE TO PEKIN—CONTEMPTUOUS TREATMENT BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT—ANXIETY AS TO FUTURE MOVEMENTS —MEMORANDUM OF SIR M. SEYMOUR—COMMUNICATION WITH TAN—THE FINAL SUMMONS—INSOLENCE OF THE GARRISON.

For the next three weeks our life in the Gulf was one of absolute inaction. This was the more trying as the cool season was slipping rapidly past. The hot gusts came oftener, and in one week the thermometer rose from 42° to 74°. During all this time, hundreds of grain-junks were passing into the mouth of the river, bearing the annual tribute of rice, on which Pekin is so entirely dependent. The interception of this grain-fleet had been one of Lord Elgin's principal objects in pushing northwards early, and desiring to be accompanied by the gunboats. It was impossible, however, to establish a blockade while negotiations ostensibly pacific were still in progress, and it was equally impossible to bring those negotiations to a close, until the naval authorities announced that they were in a position to take the forts; because, if a state of hostilities had been produced before they were able to effect this object, the despatch gunboats which were over the bar, and unable to recross it except at spring-tides, would obviously have been in a very perilous situation. Meanwhile Count Poutiatine had pushed his little steamer across the bar, and was living in the river and in daily communication with the Chinese. Mr Reed also had frequent intercourse with the Commissioners; and neither time nor opportunity were wanting to enable the neutral powers to exercise the blessed functions of the peacemaker.

There were now a sufficient number of ships inside the bar to induce us to pay them frequent visits, partly as a break to the monotony of our life, and partly to watch the progress of the fortifications and the arrival of Chinese reinforcements. From the maintop of the Nimrod a most interesting bird's-eye view was obtained of the flat peninsula on which the forts were placed, and the steppe country stretching away to the horizon. Immediately beneath was the line of batteries, in which Chinamen were working like ants, happily thoughtless of throwing up any works in their rear, solely occupied in getting more guns into position, and strengthening the front face. These defences were properly known as the forts of Tungkoo. Behind them the plain extended across the neck of the peninsula for about a mile, to the town of Takoo, situated on a bend of the river. Mandarins in state, officers on horseback, surrounded by their military retinue, Tartar couriers, soldiers, and camp-followers of all descriptions, were seen constantly passing across this plain; while here, for the first time in China, we saw carts drawn by horses or mules, generally tandem. In the town of Takoo, a pagoda or two marked the residence of the Commissioners, and the principal temples; while, behind it, a line of trees denoted the course of the river, and furnished a green background refreshing to look upon.

On the north bank of the river, two square forts, built more in accordance with civilised ideas of fortification, were undergoing repair and armament; while in rear of them, upon the arid saltpans, a large camp, the tents scarcely distinguishable from the salt tumuli, betokened the arrival of an extensive body of troops from Pekin. A cavalry regiment forming part of this force was an attractive object of inspection. Near this camp another battery was in progress of erection, in a position which commanded a long reach of the river.

The masts of junks, forming a forest of dry sticks beyond Takoo, showed how thickly the river was packed with craft; while innumerable white sails dotted the horizon, and the clumsy hulls of others, which had reached their destination at low-water, were imbedded in the vast expanse of mud which stretched out to seaward.

On the 6th of May the Plenipotentiaries found themselves compelled to seek a new pretext for correspondence, in order to gain time, and for that purpose reopened negotiations with Tan and Tsung. As the Chinese Commissioners, when required to produce the proper credentials, were in the habit of declaring that it was not in accordance with the usages of the Empire to grant to Ambassadors full powers similar to those conferred by European sovereigns on their representatives, Lord Elgin transmitted to them a copy of the full powers granted by the Imperial Government to Keying and Ilippo on the occasion of their treating with Sir Henry Pottinger, and intimated that he would be satisfied if they could procure from the Emperor similar credentials for themselves. Their refusal to comply with this demand furnished additional evidence of the fact, that they had not authority to settle the important questions pending between the two governments.

In order to a better appreciation of the peculiar conditions under which diplomatic relations in China are conducted, a perusal of the state papers discovered in Yeh's yamun, some of which have already appeared in the Blue-Book, and which are shortly to be published *in extenso* by Mr Wade, will be found very useful; those bearing upon the visit of Sir John Bowring and Mr Maclane to the Peiho in 1854, and the circumstances incidental to it, were especially edifying and instructive to us, more particularly as the great bulk of the memorials were written by

Tsung, the associate of Tan in the present Commission. That functionary little dreamt that his most secret and confidential opinions upon the subject of the English barbarians were undergoing the closest scrutiny, by those identical barbarians, at the period he was communicating with them in tones as conciliatory as was consistent with his hostile feelings. Certainly the circumstances under which we appeared off the Peiho were somewhat different to those under which it had been visited in 1854. Then, the force was composed of one English and three American vessels, only one of which was inside the bar. Now there were upwards of twenty men-of-war in the Gulf, of which nine were inside the bar ; for an American steamer, as well as the Russian, had taken up her anchorage in the river. Then, the foreign Plenipotentiaries had manifested the strongest desire to be received in audience, and had visited the Chinese Commissioners in the tent erected on shore for their accommodation. Now, these latter had fixed two several days for interviews, and expressed their anxious readiness to receive the foreign Plenipotentiaries : but their festive boards had been spread and their soldiers paraded in vain ; instead of the Plenipotentiaries they only saw Messrs Wade, Lay, and some of the members of the staff, and so far forgot their dignity, in their anxiety to conciliate, that they entertained them officially. On the former occasion, Drs Medhurst and Parker had been received by two subordinates, Wan-kien and Shwanjin, whose memorials on the subject are in the highest degree amusing. This was pending the arrival of the Imperial Commissioner, Tsung.

To judge from their account of the intractability of the barbarians, they must have undergone most trying experiences in their endeavours to carry out the Emperor's injunctions "to discomfit their (the barbarians') deceit and arrogance, and foil their malicious sophistry." "There is no fathoming their (the barbarians') minds." They in one place despondingly remark, "nor is it at all certain they are not covering a mischievous purpose, their real object being to find a pretext for misunderstanding with us." Most determined are the combats they seem to have had with the interpreters. "To judge by appearances, Medhurst is much the most crafty," they think; but elsewhere they exultingly exclaim, "your slaves lectured them upon the obligations of duty. Medhurst and Parker hung down their heads, having nothing to rejoin, and apologised for their error. They further observed, that as a high officer was to be at Tientsin immediately, to look into the questions pending, there would now be peace between us, and (at this they were so delighted) that, though they should die, they should not care. They seemed greatly ashamed, and their language was most respectful."

Indeed, considering how constantly Wan-kien and his colleague are "peremptorily enjoining" and "authoritatively commanding" the barbarians, they seem to produce but little effect: doubtless feeling the futility of their efforts, one of them, after suggesting that the Governor-General be sent to inquire into the matter, winds up in the following modest manner: "The opinion that is within the range of his stolidity, your slave, in the rashness of his ignorance, humbly declares; and, unequal to the excess of his trepidation, awaits your Majesty's commands."

I had not the advantage of seeing Tsung, but those of our party who were received by that dignitary and Tan, describe him as an ill-favoured, suspicious-looking man with a squint, who maintained a truculent silence throughout the short interview. Perhaps the following memorial, which I have extracted from among Mr Wade's translations of the same papers, will account for the evil eye with which he regarded us, while it is interesting, at the same time, as throwing much light upon the motives and modes of action of Chinese officials: it is supplementary to a long and very interesting memorial, in which he and his colleague describe their interviews with Sir J. Bowring and Mr Maclane, their peremptory refusal to listen to any of their demands, and the means by which, in their opinion, they can be induced to waive them. "Further, they say, your slaves, having received your Majesty's commands to administer barbarian business together, could they have so set the right before the barbarians as to prevent them going back from their engagements, would they have dared to trouble your sacred Majesty with further matter of thought, by the application which they respectfully make for a Celestial decision?

"The English barbarians are, however, full of insidious schemes, uncontrollably fierce and imperious. The American nation does no more than follow their direction. Every movement is the conception of the English. A perusal of the list of propositions presented by them shows that they are in general the views of a single self. They consist neither with right feeling nor principle. They have been mildly remonstrated with, but so crafty and slippery is their disposition that it is hard to set the right before them.

"Your slaves, having duly taken counsel together, have resolved to point out to them what articles in their paper admit of discussion ; and for the discussion of these, whether important or otherwise, to refer them to one of the five open ports. The place to which they might prefer to proceed your slaves would report to the throne ; high authorities in the province in which it lies receiving instructions from your Majesty, to consult together and make their disposition according to the particulars of the case, as ascertained by them on investigation, and to oblige the barbarians to return, and abide the issue ; to reject the rest of their propositions, one and all ; and, on receipt of your Majesty's approval of this course, to write them another letter for their instruction, and return them (*lit.* throw back) their paper of articles. Should they be wilfully perverse to take no notice of it, but to be more than ever active in preparing secretly for defence, and to wait spear in hand, with the right on our side and the wrong on theirs, it does not seem that they can have anything to allege against us. It is the nature of the Mwan and I,* while they dread the strong, to insult the weak. Without some display of power, they will not, perhaps, be deterred from their purpose of prying and spying (*lit.* their heart of spying will not be awed).

"It is proposed, in reply to them, to show a certain amount of indifference, thus to enhance the dignity of the state, and annihilate their treacherous projects. The barbarians are in no wise to be informed that the paper of propositions tendered by them has been laid before the throne. They were told, in the first instance, that it was taken away to be studied more carefully; that on anything in it that might be of advantage to both sides, or in no way to the prejudice of either, your Majesty's pleasure would, after due deliberation, be requested for them ; that the remainder would be negatived, article by article, as being, from their offensiveness and impertinence, harmful and impracticable ; and that the paper would be returned to them on the 18th. The barbarians have never been given to understand that a copy of it could have been submitted to your Majesty for perusal. As in duty bound, they add this enclosure to the foregoing details."

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* *Note by Translator.*—The four barbarian races, surrounding ancient China proper, were the Mwan, the I, the Jung, and the Tih. The second is now almost generic for all races not Chinese.

There was no reason to suppose that Tsung, who adopted this tone with reference to barbarian affairs in 1854, had changed his mind in the interval, more especially as the policy he adopted on that occasion was eminently successful. He got rid of the barbarians, who were not more heard of, until the "Arrow case" once more roused "these troublesome pests" into action.

Upon the above occasion, the question of powers did not seem to arise, the Commissioners untruthfully alleging, not only that they were unable to entertain the demands of the barbarians, but even to refer them to Pekin. It appears, however, that they were so referred, and the Emperor's decree on the subject was among our papers. Upon the occasion of our visit, they evidently wished it to be considered in the light of a concession that they offered to make reference to Pekin; but it was clear that this was a principle totally inadmissible, as being not merely inconsistent with the dignity of the Powers represented on the occasion, but incompatible with the speedy or satisfactory progress of negotiations.

The practical inconvenience of treating with irresponsible functionaries is exemplified in a decree from the Council of State to Yeh, informing him of the proceedings of Sir John Bowring and Mr Maclane, in the north, in which they say: "They (the foreign Plenipotentiaries) presented a number of requests: more than one of them objectionable, by reason of their unreasonableness and impertinence. We confidentially instructed Tsung-lun and his colleagues to disapprove and negative the whole of these, but to write a reply, promising, as it were of their own motion, that three of the questions—viz., the misunderstandings between the people and the barbarians, the arrears of duties at Shanghai, and the tea-duties in Kwang-tung, should notwithstanding be looked into and disposed of." This view of the subject was doubtless founded upon the opinion of Tsung-lun, as stated by him in one of his Memorials, in which he says: "Their (the foreign Plenipotentiaries') object (was to obtain consideration of) the arrear of duties at Shanghai, the surcharge on the tea-duties at Canton, and trade up the Yang-tse-Kiang. The remaining articles were mere talk (or lies), to produce an effect." Our subsequent silence upon the subject, for so long a period, must have confirmed this opinion, while the Council of State, commenting upon the indignant departure of the squadron from the Gulf, sagaciously remarks, "They will go back to Kwang-tung—their averment that they will return home for instructions from their government being nothing more than another of their fictions." Then follow instructions to Yeh, that, when they get to Canton, he is to be as peremptory with them as Tsung-lun was. Above all, that "their proposition to trade up the Yang-tse-Kiang must be peremptorily negatived, nor must the barbarians be led to suppose that the idea was ever communicated to us."

With the advantage which these papers afforded him of an insight into the character of Chinese diplomacy, Lord Elgin was naturally desirous to avoid being entangled in this labyrinth of finesse and word-fencing; and the delays in the Gulf were doubly annoying to him, because they had a tendency to involve him in discussions of this nature.

Meantime the Chinese were daily gaining confidence; there was little doubt that they had now made up their minds to resist, and every day's delay was weakening our position morally. At one time it seemed probable that the whole force would leave the Gulf of Pechelee without accomplishing any object whatever.* The time was a most anxious

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* The following men-of-war were at this time anchored in the Gulf:—

ENGLISH.

	Guns.	Men.	
Calcutta,	84	700	Anchored in Gulf of Pechelee.
Pique,	40	270	do.
Furious, paddle-steamer,	8	220	do.
Nimrod, desp. Government vessel,	6	120	Peiho.
Cormorant, do.	6	98	do.
Surprise, do.	6	98	Gulf of Pechelee.
Fury,	8	160	do.
Slaney, gunboat,	5	48	
Leven, do.	5	48	
Bustard, do.	3	48	
Opossum,	3	48	
Staunch,	3	48	
Firm,	3	48	
Coromandel, paddle-steamer,	5	44	Peiho.
Hesper, storeship,	0	54	
		2052	

one, for the Plenipotentiaries considered that any such abandonment of the enterprise would tend to increase the arrogance of the Court of Pekin, and perhaps compromise the safety of Europeans in other parts of the Empire.

Finally, it was resolved that a movement up the Peiho, of a mixed hostile and diplomatic character, should take place, as described in the annexed Memorandum of Sir M. Seymour, of the result of the conference held on board l'Audacieuse frigate, 18th May 1858.

" Proposed by the Ambassadors—

" To take the forts, and, in accordance with language held to Tan, the Chinese High Commissioner, to go nearer the capital to treat; to advance paci-

FRENCH.	
Nemesis, frigate,	Gulf of Pechelee.
Audacieuse, frigate,	do.
Primanquet, steam-corvette,	do.
Durance, storeship,	do.
Meurthe,	do.
Phlegeton, steam-corvette,	do.
Mitraille, gunboat,	Peiho.
Fusée, gunboat,	do.
Avalanche, gunboat,	do.
Dragonne,	do.
Renny, store-steamer.	
AMERICAN.	
Minnesota, steam-frigate,	Gulf of Pechelee.
Mississippi, steam-frigate,	do.
Antelope, chartered steamer,	Peiho.
RUSSIAN.	
Amerika, paddle-steamer,	Peiho.

fically up the river with a view to meeting a Plenipotentiary.

"It was remarked that the ministers of Russia and the United States would unite in this movement, after the capture of the forts.

"I stated that I was quite prepared to operate against the forts, and afterwards advance the gunboats in aid of the proposed movements up the river.

"The official authority requiring me to act is to be furnished by Lord Elgin." *

In keeping with this arrangement, a communication was addressed to Tan, in which the Ambassador stated, that, the various delays accorded having expired without producing any satisfactory result, it had at last become necessary for him, in accordance with his expressed intention of "placing himself in more immediate communication with the high officers of the Imperial Government at the capital," to move "towards" Tientsin. "As a preliminary measure," his Excellency goes on to state, "it will be requisite that the forts at the mouth of the Peiho be placed in the hands of the Commanders-in-chief of the allied force. Their Excellencies will signify the time within which the Imperial troops will be called on to evacuate these works. The forts once in possession of the allied force, the Undersigned will ascend the river, trusting that the Imperial Government will, without further delay, admit the

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* *Vide* Blue-Book, page 306.

expediency of appointing a duly qualified representative to meet him."

On the 18th of May the Plenipotentiaries and Admirals met in conference, and it was finally arranged that the above summons should be sent in on the 20th; and that if the Chinese should decline accepting our offer of temporarily garrisoning their forts for them, force should be employed to obtain possession of them.

So at last, after five weeks of total inaction at anchor in one spot, there was some prospect of escape from a situation which was gradually becoming intolerable. During this period, which seemed an age, we had passed through every variety of temperature and every phase of sentiment. We had been hot and hopeful, cold and despondent, shrouded in fogs, beset with doubts, choked with sand and disgust, tempest and passion-tossed, becalmed and torpid. We became wonderfully expert at games with rope quoits, and profoundly indifferent to sublunary affairs generally. News of the change of ministry at home, which arrived about this time, did not create nearly so much sensation as a present of fresh fish, for we were reduced to living on potted meats.

Information came from those in the river that the Chinese were working harder than ever in constructing stockades and abattis, that the camps were increasing in size, and the soldiers in bravado, insomuch that they hooted and waved flags at us jeeringly, wondering why we did not "come on:" all this was refreshing to the spirits of those who had become bloodthirsty, more especially the officers of the ships over the bar. The Nimrod and Cormorant had been quietly edged so close to the forts that, considering their escape was impossible, no other nation but the Chinese could have resisted the temptation of firing upon them ; but in vain did their commanders watch for a little puff of white smoke which might have enabled them to cut the gordian knot which we in the Gulf had been so long endeavouring to unravel ; in vain did parties of sportsmen look for snipe under the very guns of the batteries ; the imperturbable garrison contented themselves with waving flags, well pleased to be allowed to play the part of the Earl of Chatham as long as we should continue to personify Sir Richard Strachan.

CHAPTER XV.

THE NIGHT BEFORE THE ATTACK—DELIVERY OF THE ULTIMATUM—THE SIGNAL OF ATTACK—ADVANCE OF THE CORMORANT—THE NIMROD HOTLY ENGAGED—CHINESE ARTILLERY-PRACTICE—THE BATTERIES STORMED—"SAUVE QUI PEUT"—TERRIFIC EXPLOSION—ASPECT OF THE FORTIFICATIONS—ATTACK OF THE NORTHERN FORTS—CAPTURE OF THE LAST BATTERY—A VISIT TO TAN'S RESIDENCE—IMPERIAL EDICT—FATE OF TAN—HIS ACCOUNT OF THE ACTION—TAN'S YAMUN—A POEM "IN MEMORIAM"—RETURN TO THE FURIOUS.

As if to compensate to us for all the delay and discomfort to which we had already been subjected during our stay in the Gulf, the climate for the last few days would have been a credit to the Mediterranean. The sky was cloudless, and fresh breezes from the seaward had driven the salt waves into the Gulf, and forced back the muddy waters of the Peiho, until that river indulged in the poetic license of "meandering level with its font."

On the 19th I crossed the bar at an early hour. The batteries maintained their usual aspect of repose. Here and there groups of soldiers were squatted round some big brass guns, or mandarins of rank with umbrella and banner bearers went their rounds; but as the day wore on they saw enough to rouse them to vigilance and activity. Six gunboats came dancing merrily over the bar, each thronged with human beings, and forming a centre round which clustered a crowd of ships' boats, like chickens nestling under the maternal wing. Spasmodically puffing forth their six jets of white smoke, they steadily approached the awestruck garrison, who, however, to do them justice, manifested no external signs of alarm. That even the hardy progeny of the soldiers of Genghis Khan should have felt some degree of trepidation at witnessing a phenomenon of this description for the first time was natural; but not only did they conceal their intimidation, but had the hardihood to send off a message through Count Poutiatine, inviting us to "come on." So we came on, and looked very pretty as we did so; the setting sun glancing on red coats and waving flags, and shedding its warm bright glow upon the devoted garrison, so many of whom were looking at it for the last time. These latter, however, probably not much given to sentiment at any time, were evidently more engrossed with the approaching foe than the departing day, and seemed to suspect that we were going to attack the same evening. Officers moved briskly about the batteries on horseback; the whole garrison stood to their guns, and turned out in a long and imposing line upon the glacis; but their prowess was not yet destined to be tried. The gunboats came to an anchor at a long range from the forts; the garrison relapsed into quiet and security; the waves, so lately burnished gold, became polished silver as the rising moon tipped their crests, and the hoarse pant of the steam-engine was succeeded by the gruff chorus of the British sailor, who was too much excited by the prospect of "thrashing the fokees" on the morrow, to go to sleep until he had exhausted his repertory of appropriate songs. At length the last barbarian strain died faintly away, and tar and Tartar were buried in profound repose.

At eight o'clock on the following morning, the English and French flag-captains, accompanied by Mr Lay, landed under a flag of truce with the ultimatum, and an intimation that a delay of two hours would be accorded for the exchange of garrisons, as required in the ultimatum. These gentlemen were received by a petty mandarin near the blue tent, where a repast had every day been spread for the entertainment of any such barbarians of distinction as should honour the Commissioners with a visit. To this official the ultimatum was handed, and the party retired. An interval of two hours then elapsed, at the expiry of which, as no further communication was received from the forts, it was concluded that the authorities preferred their own garrison to the one proposed as a substitute, and had determined to abide by the consequences. At ten o'clock, therefore, the signal was hoisted for the ships to take up their respective positions.

The Cormorant, Mitraille, and Fusée had been told off to the attack of the two forts on the northern side; while the three forts on the southern bank, with their long connecting-line of sandbag batteries, fell to the share of the Nimrod, Avalanche, and Dragonne. This apparently unequal distribution of French and English gunboats, by which the former appeared to have monopolised an undue share in the operations, was rendered necessary by the inefficiency of the French gunboats for performing sundry functions for which our smaller class of gunboats are alone adapted, and which we were compelled to do for them. Thus the Leven and Opossum were told off for French service throughout the day, and towed in their landing parties. During the subsequent period of our residence at Tientsin, our gunboats were constantly employed on the French account, bringing up provisions, supplies, &c., and performing the entire river service for both squadrons.

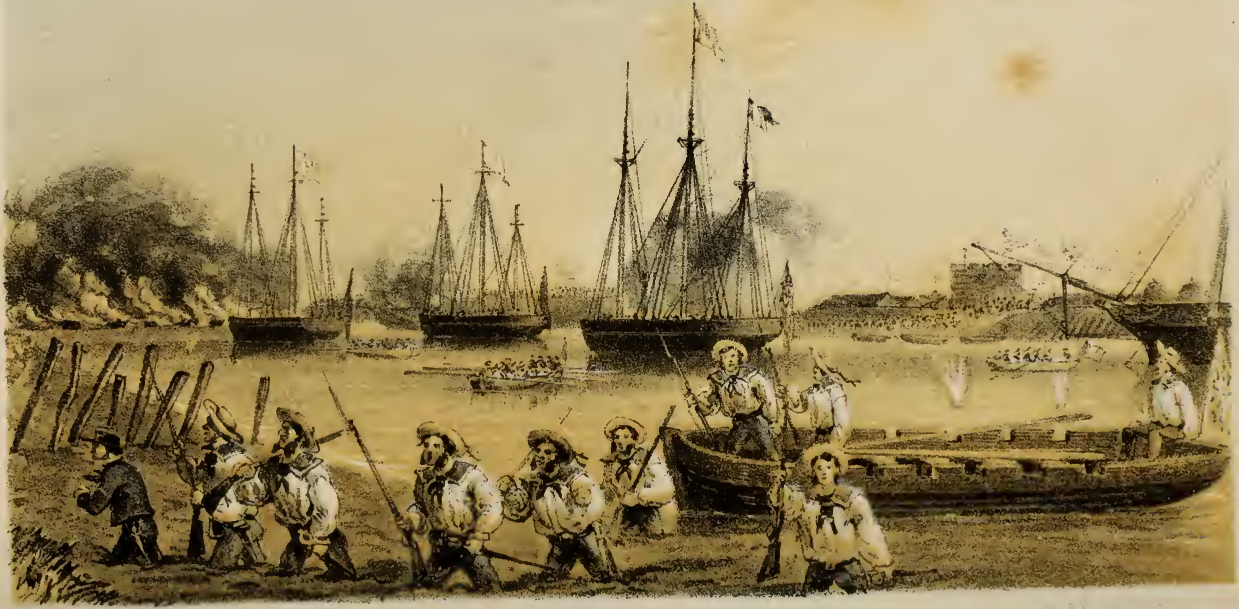
To return to the signal of attack. Cameron and I had taken up our position for viewing the operations of the day on board the Nimrod. For a few moments before this signal was hoisted, the river presented a most animated appearance. The advanced ship up the river was the Cormorant, letting off impatient puffs of steam, as she waited like a greyhound till the leash should be slipped, and she should be started to burst through the bamboo barrier which was stretched across the river, and run the gauntlet of the fire of forts to which she would be exposed before reaching her position. Immediately behind her lay the Nimrod, her decks cleared for action, the men at their guns, and every soul eagerly longing for the welcome order. Some distance astern of her were our own gunboats, surrounded by their small fry, crowded with men, and the four large French gunboats.

The signal flag had hardly reached the truck of the Slaney when the Cormorant darted off like an arrow: as her men were all lying flat on the deck, not a soul but her commander and two or three officers was to be seen on board. A moment had scarcely elapsed before Captain Saumarez had reason to congratulate himself on the wisdom of his precaution—puff, and a cloud of smoke like that of an exploded mine was followed by the whistle of a round-shot, then another, and another, till all three forts had opened on her in full chorus. But the Cormorant disdained reply; suddenly there was a shock, a tremor, and a start ahead—she had burst the barrier, composed of five seven-inch bamboo cables, buoyed across the river. In a moment more she was in position, and giving the batteries on the southern bank one gun by way of a recognition of the compliment they had paid her; she concentrated her tremendous fire on the northern forts, which were completely silenced in about eighteen minutes, at the expiry of which term the Fusée and Mitraille came up, too late, however, to participate in the bombardment.

Meantime the Nimrod had been no less alert, and being already almost in position, opened incontinently a telling fire on the southern forts, thus diverting their attention from the Cormorant, and attracting their concentrated fire on herself. For about a quarter of an hour we held the distinguished post of engaging single-handed the whole three forts. Presently, however, the four French gunboats, two of them on their way to support the Cormorant, and the other two (Avalanche and Dragonne), our supports, came slowly up: the strong tide and the narrow river considerably embarrassed the movements of these craft, which were of unwieldy construction and insufficient steam-power. However, when the Avalanche and Dragonne did get into position, just ahead of us, they did their work well, and for the next half-hour we all three hammered away at the forts with great good-will and pertinacity,—the Tartars standing to their guns better than we anticipated. The shot for the most part passed over us, some of them flying as high as the top-gallant cross-trees. One went through the topsail yard, and we saw them bobbing in all directions into the river beyond us. The French gunboats had poops; to this may no doubt be attributed the mortality among the officers: they lost no less than four killed, and only two men, if we exclude those killed afterwards by an explosion.

The Nimrod was hulled in half-a-dozen places, but we had only one man killed, and three wounded. The gingall fire was more telling than that of their large guns. The construction of a Chinese battery renders it a somewhat difficult matter to silence them effectually. Behind the gun is a bomb-proof chamber, containing the ammunition, and to which the men run for shelter. After the gun is discharged, the gunners disappear into this retreat, and remain there until the enemy, having given the battery a benefit of shot and shell without reply, conclude it to be silenced; then the gunners stealthily emerge, and try if possible to load and fire the gun without being perceived, rushing back to their hiding-place immediately afterwards. Of course, upon this system the firing can never be very rapid, but there is no reason why it should not last for ever, unless the gun is disabled; to prevent this, they generally run it behind the solid earthwork after it is fired. By minute investigation with an opera-glass, we could often detect the gunners popping like rabbits out of a warren, from the chamber into the battery, and then a shell, judiciously dropped amongst them, would shut up the gun for a quarter of an hour. As, however, there were 140 guns altogether in position, a good deal of firing went on notwithstanding.

A little before eleven, the Admirals, followed by their fleet of gunboats, passed up the river, receiving on their way a good many stray shots that passed over us. As the interest was now to be transferred to their operations, I went up with my companion to the maintop of the Nimrod, from whence we obtained a magnificent bird's-eye view of the scene. The batteries, with their active garrisons, lay immediately at our feet. We could see the gunners running in and out of their chambers, and working away like

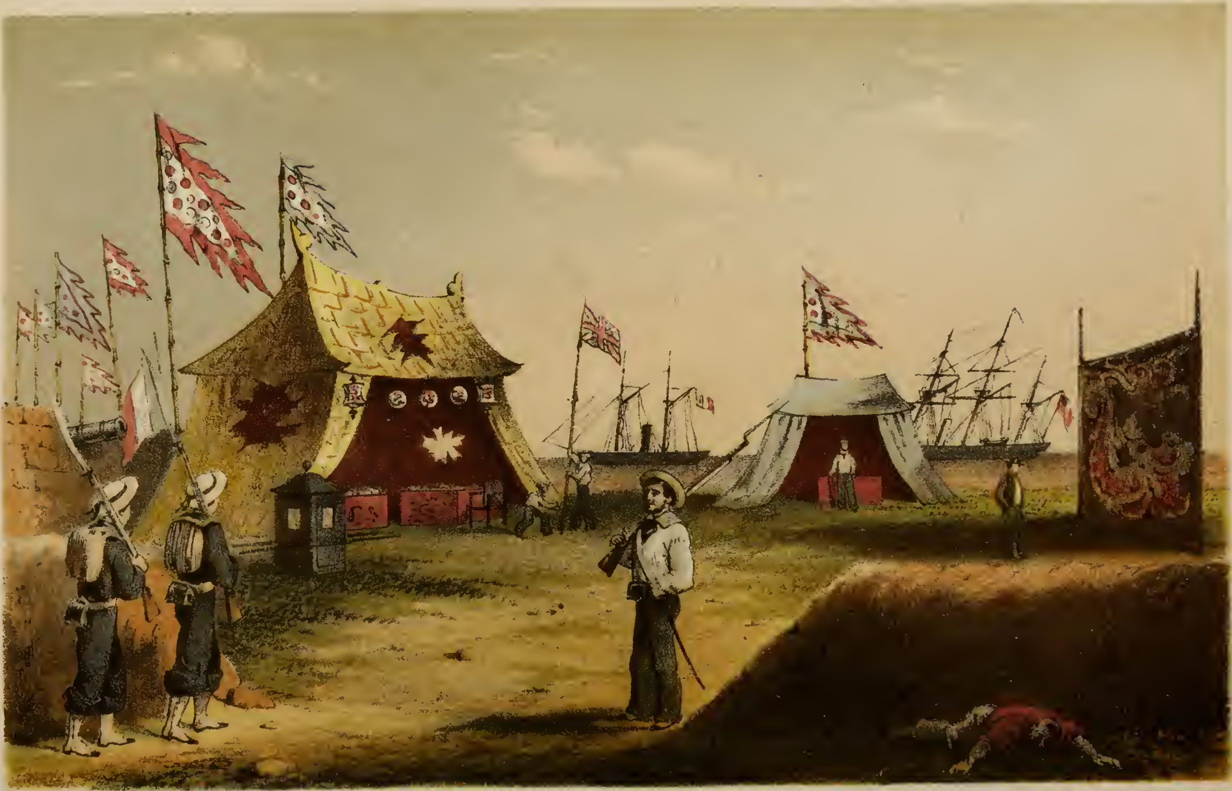


CAPTURE OF THE PEIHO FORTS
20th May, 1858.

ants; and in the plain behind, a large crowd, probably a force in reserve, who, to their intense amazement, were favoured with a shell or two immediately on our informing Captain Dew of their position and direction.

As the storming parties landed within 300 yards of us, we could, from our elevated position, inspect their proceedings with great minuteness. The attention of the fort being concentrated upon the gunboats in front of them, the garrison seemed unconscious of the fact that some hundreds of "barbarians" were landing just above them. Not knowing that our practice was to take batteries by assault, they were evidently taken completely by surprise; and as but a few yards of mud were to be traversed at that time of tide, the men were in the embrasures at once. In the late unfortunate attack, the distance of mud to be crossed was much greater, and the garrison doubtless fully expected that we should land and storm as we had done before, and were prepared accordingly. We saw the leading blue-jacket jump into the battery; an instantaneous panic spread itself like lightning along the line of batteries at our feet; and in the "sauve qui peut" which followed, some amusing scenes occurred, as Jack, at the top of his speed, dodged and chased the terrified soldiers, who, with outstretched arms and nimble legs, scattered in every direction. Here and there one more courageous than his fellows would attempt to make a stand, or apparently disbelieve the report of a flying Tartar, who pointed to the rear and sped on with redoubled speed; but no sooner did the flash of the cutlass glance before his eye, than the bravest of them lost heart, and in ten minutes the whole garrison, together with the body in reserve, were scattered far and wide over the plain. Those who had a good start could afford to save their dignity, and walk composedly away; but the stragglers in rear fled as though demons were on their track, and for the most part fairly outran our gallant tars, whose wind was soon expended, and who were obliged at last to content themselves with stray shots at their light-heeled foe. After a race of this description their aim was somewhat wild, and I saw a marine aim with great deliberation at a man whom he had almost succeeded in running down, at a distance of about five yards, and miss him.

We now lost no time in landing ourselves, and were soon exploring the batteries and the plain behind. We met the marines and blue-jackets coming back from their chase, and the few corpses I observed on the field and in the batteries confirmed me in the impression that the Chinese loss had been comparatively trifling, probably not above 200 in all, including those killed on the north bank. There can be no doubt that, if it had been desired, we might, by sending a force round to the village of Takoo, have cut off their retreat, and caught the whole garrison in a trap from which they could not possibly have escaped.



RECEPTION TENT OF THE IMPERIAL COMMISSIONERS, [illegible]

We were the first to make an inroad upon the oranges and pomegranates, which formed part of the repast spread out for our (pacific) entertainment in the blue tent, through the canvass of which two or three round-shot had let in daylight. Then we proceeded to pull down the Chinese banners, and demolishing parties were set to work to upset the guns and dismantle the fortifications. We found them to be more solidly constructed than we had supposed, the three forts being composed of square blocks of stone masonry, the sea front faced with earth ; they were about twelve feet in height, and ascended from the rear by a ~~broad~~ flight of stone steps.

While standing near the base of one of these, which we had just been investigating, and which was now filled with Frenchmen, we were startled by an explosion so close as to make us involuntarily retreat some yards, and inexpressibly shocked by the sight which met our eyes. A crowd of French sailors rushed wounded and panic-stricken out of the falling buildings ; some of them, tortured beyond endurance by the horrible agony, threw themselves headlong over the glacis into the ditch at the base. One of these wretched sufferers I observed scramble out upon the opposite bank, after rolling in the muddy pool, and though blackened to a degree which gave him more the appearance of a cinder than a man, shout with characteristic vivacity, "Vive l'Empereur! Vive la France!" as he feebly waved his cap over his head. But those who first rushed out were only the less injured; the severely wounded were now being carried down from the fort by their comrades, and the objects were so painfully disfigured, and as they writhed and groaned with agony presented so heart-rending an appearance, that, as we were only in the way, we hurried from the spot; nor could I banish the scene from my memory for some time afterwards. The French Admiral was close by as this tragical event happened, and every assistance was instantly rendered to the sufferers, in spite of which, out of about forty who were more or less severely injured, the majority never recovered.

This incident cooled the ardour of our investigations into the fortifications. We had indeed been over the entire length of the works, and were amazed at the calibre and exquisite finish of some of the brass guns. The sandbag battery, which connected the forts, had been well constructed, and had afforded sufficient shelter to enable the gunners to annoy us considerably. Numbers of beautifully-made rockets were piled up in different directions, and bags of powder lay scattered about. Some good canister-shot was lying about, as well as hollow 8-inch. There were also several English guns in the batteries. A battery of 200 gingalls, all laid close together in line, each about ten feet long, and carrying a pound ball, looked like a gigantic "infernal machine," and, properly worked, makes doubtless a formidable defence. Camps were situated behind the forts, and looting parties rummaging out the tents for swords, &c. &c.

every now and then unearthed a Chinaman. One of our own men, who had foolishly dressed himself in some of the clothes he had discovered, was unhappily shot by mistake for one of the enemy.

As it was not yet mid-day, and we still heard firing round the bend of the river, we were anxious to push up if possible to Takoo, and were glad to take advantage of the gunboat Firm, which was despatched to the front for the purpose of collecting wounded. On our way we observed some stranded fire-rafts, which were still burning, having been towed on shore. An attempt had also been made to send down some lighted junks, filled with straw, which fortunately proved abortive.

As we passed the northern forts, and saw the flanking fire to which they had been exposed from the Cormorant's heavy guns, we did not wonder at the rapidity with which they were evacuated—our landing-parties, under Captains Sir Frederick Nicolson, Sherard Osborn, and Commander Cresswell, together with the French landing-party, having entered them without opposition. After the usual amount of tricolors, &c., had been stuck up, the French crossed over to the left bank, and the men of the Pique, Furious, and Surprise, followed the garrison of the forts, who were in full retreat upon two intrenched camps, one of which contained the cavalry force already alluded to. These camps were situated close to the river, and were protected in that direction by a formidable battery, which commanded the entire length of the reach. The shore party, advancing over a flat salt plain, were covered on their left flank by the Bustard, Opossum, and Staunch, which were exposed to the whole fire of the battery as they advanced up the reach. A sharp engagement followed between these three little gunboats and the battery, in which they lost two killed and five wounded ; but upon the landing-party coming up at the double, and taking them in flank, the panic usual in such cases was followed by an utter rout, and the assailants, whose attention was particularly directed to the flying cavalry, only succeeded in knocking over a few of them as they fled across the open.

This episode had just terminated when we arrived. Each camp contained about twenty-five field-pieces, 6-pounders, four heavy brass guns throwing 68-pound shot, and a dozen iron guns of a new construction, on capital carriages, throwing an 18-pound ball. There was computed to have been about a thousand men in each battery, with abundance of admirable gingalls. We now moved up to Takoo, where a barrier of junks, moored right across the river, debarred our further progress. A battery of eighteen field-pieces, which was deserted as we approached, flanked this barrier, and so we immediately landed and took possession of it. Just behind this battery was the village of Takoo, the houses of one story, built of mud, and divided by narrow streets, and in every respect similar to a fellah village on the banks of the Nile. A crowd of people had collected about fifty yards distant, conscious, apparently, that we should not mistake them for soldiers, and watched our proceedings with great coolness and interest.

We were enabled to communicate with them through Mr Wade, who now arrived, together with some others of our party. In answer to our inquiry, they informed us that the joss-house in the neighbourhood had been the residence of the Imperial Commissioner Tan, so we immediately decided on paying it a visit. We were accompanied by several villagers, who appeared so perfectly friendly that three or four blue-jackets formed our only escort. On our way we found the headless trunk of a man lying across the path, who, the villagers informed us, had been beheaded in the morning for running away. We soon broke open the doors of the joss-house, proved to be the Hai-chin-Miao, or Temple of the Sea-God (the same at which Lord Macartney visited the Governor of the Province), and were received by some priests, who not unnaturally betrayed a little nervous agitation. We assured them we only wished to ransack Tan's private room for papers. We discovered none, however, of any importance; though, from the confusion in which we found his apartments, he had evidently left in a hurry. A mandarin officer of some importance, who had committed suicide by cutting his throat, was also found in the house. We afterwards discovered that this was Tehkwei, the acting commandant at the defence of the forts. The following extract from the *Pekin Gazette*, showing how the

Government of China deal with their officers who are guilty of failure, will prove that this unhappy mandarin only anticipated his destiny by a few months:—

"The Prince of Hwui and others have in concert with the Board of Punishments presented a memorial setting forth the penalties they find the laws to award to the different officers whom We had directed them to try for the loss of the port of Tien-tsing. The following officers already degraded—namely, Chang Tien-yuen, Commander-in-chief of the Chinese army of Chih-li, Tanien, acting as General-in-command of the Tien-tsing division of the same, and Tehkwei, Acting Commandant of Takoo, had been directed by T'an Ting-siang to occupy and defend the forts at Takoo, on the north and south banks of the river; Fulehtunt'ai, Lieutenant-general of Bannermen, had encamped at Chung-páu, in rear and in support of Chang Tien-yuen and the rest. When the barbarians opened fire they made every effort to keep them off, striking and wounding four barbarian ships, and killing several barbarian soldiers; notwithstanding which all the forts and all the guns were taken. Certainly, their offence is without excuse! Let Fulehtunt'ai, Chang Tien-yuen, and Tanien, who, according to the award, should properly be decapitated, be imprisoned until after the autumn, and then put to death."

As our intercourse with Tan terminated shortly after, in a note from that functionary announcing the appointment of his successors, we may not inappropriately take leave of him, now that we have completed the search of his premises. In the same Pekin Gazette we find the following punishment awarded to him : "Tan Ting-siang, already degraded from the office of Governor-general of Chih-li, has been found not guilty of cowardice and desertion ; but, in that his operations were without plan or resource, his offence is no less without excuse. Let him be banished to the frontier,* there to redeem his guilt by his exertions."

Poor Tan was the victim of circumstances over which he certainly had no control ; and it seems hard that his government should refuse him full powers in the first instance, and then punish him for the inevitable consequence of his being without them.

The tendency of which our own government has been accused—of rewarding incapacity—renders its service sufficiently discouraging to meritorious officers ; but even it must be preferable to one which unrelentingly visits misfortune with disgrace.

Although we did not find any papers of political importance in the residence of Tan, the following account of the memorial he addressed to the Emperor on the loss of Takoo, if true, furnishes an amusing illustration of the desperate falsehoods to which his unhappy servants are compelled to resort in hope of averting the imperial displeasure. The subjoined letter was received by Mr Lay on his arrival at Tientsin, from a Chinese correspondent in the city, who doubtless hoped to curry favour with the barbarians by sending them information; it must therefore be taken *cum grano*:—

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* The confines of Siberia, on the far west of the Chinese dominions.

"Tan tells the Emperor in his memorial respecting the loss of Takoo, that he gained a great victory the day before" (by the day before is meant the 20th, or day of the capture), "and destroyed several barbarian ships. That the capture of the forts was attributable to a circumstance which it was not in his power to control. An unusually high tide on the day in question, and a sudden rush of water from the Gulf, swept away the south-east battery, and any defence of the place was rendered impossible. Long before your admiral reached Tientsin, Tan had fled, and with him every soldier and brave. The magistrate is the only one who remained in the city. Before the fight at Takoo the Emperor issued two edicts to Tan, desiring him to accede to your demands so far as ports were concerned. Tan, however, did not dare to show these edicts, because they contained the word "barbarian," and he was afraid that the sight of the objectionable expression would only incense you. He therefore determined upon risking a trial of strength. The Emperor is going to appoint Toh-mingah to treat with you. He does not appoint Sang-ko-lin-sin, because of his warlike disposition. Our high officers dread a personal meeting with your Ambassadors; they think they would be made prisoners, as was Yeh.'

Such, according to popular gossip, was Tan's mode of accounting for his defeat at Takoo. It is highly probable that the imperial edicts above spoken of actually did exist, although Tan had evidently had time to carry off all his political documents. A poem, however—translated, I believe, by one of the gentlemen attached to the American legation—was afterwards discovered, which rouses our sympathies in behalf of the unhappy mandarin, and which I have thought worthy of insertion for the benefit of those who deny the existence in the Chinese bosom of the sentiment of domestic affection :—

The "Temple of the Sea-God" (Residence of Tan at Takoo.)

TRANSLATION OF A POEM *in Memoriam* of Tan's wife. Found in his room at Takoo. (The characters of black velvet, each on the representation of a Chinese fruit. In couplets of four characters each.)

Right hand.

"In the Mé* bowered window the Spring is mild."

Left hand.

"In the lan † bordered pathway the breezes are fragrant."

[The following twe-lien, or scrolls, on blue and white silk, are funeral tributes to the virtues of a distinguished lady, presented by mourning relatives; blue and white being the appropriate colours of mourning.]

"Combining the qualities of Tan and Ki,‡ the Vermilion Pencil has honoured her with a title.

Uniting the graces of Ha and Chang, the Scarlet Tube § has published her excellence.

Possessing high rank of Imperial bestowment, favour rested on her door-posts, and abundant grace upon her household.

Decorated with an Imperial distinction, her virtues were published through her native district, and diffused the reputation of her worth.

With a stimulant made of bears' gall exciting the studies (of her son), her excellent example is worthy of imitation.

Clad in ivory-adorned vestments, she has gone to worship the True (one); and her benevolent countenance, where shall we look for it?

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* Mé (pronounced *may*) is the name of a kind of plum indigenous to China.

† Lan is the designation of a bulbous flowering plant of ravishing sweetness. It is the *Aglaia odorata* of botanists.

‡ Tan and Ki were women famed for their virtues. Ha and Chang were ladies celebrated for their accomplishments.

§ Vermilion Pencil and Scarlet Tube are identical figures denoting the Emperor.

Having taught her son to respect her example and hold fast the classics, she saw him pluck with his own hand the sprig of the qué-hwá.*

Having aided her husband to display his virtues, her gentle influence flowed over her kindred, and she long commanded the hearts of her relations."

Our search was soon concluded, and as the day was now advanced, and the enemy had become invisible, we thought it time to return to the Furious.

In the evening the second division moved up, embarked in our own gunboats, supported by Captain Dew (of the Nimrod), to the line of junks moored abreast of the Takoo joss-house.

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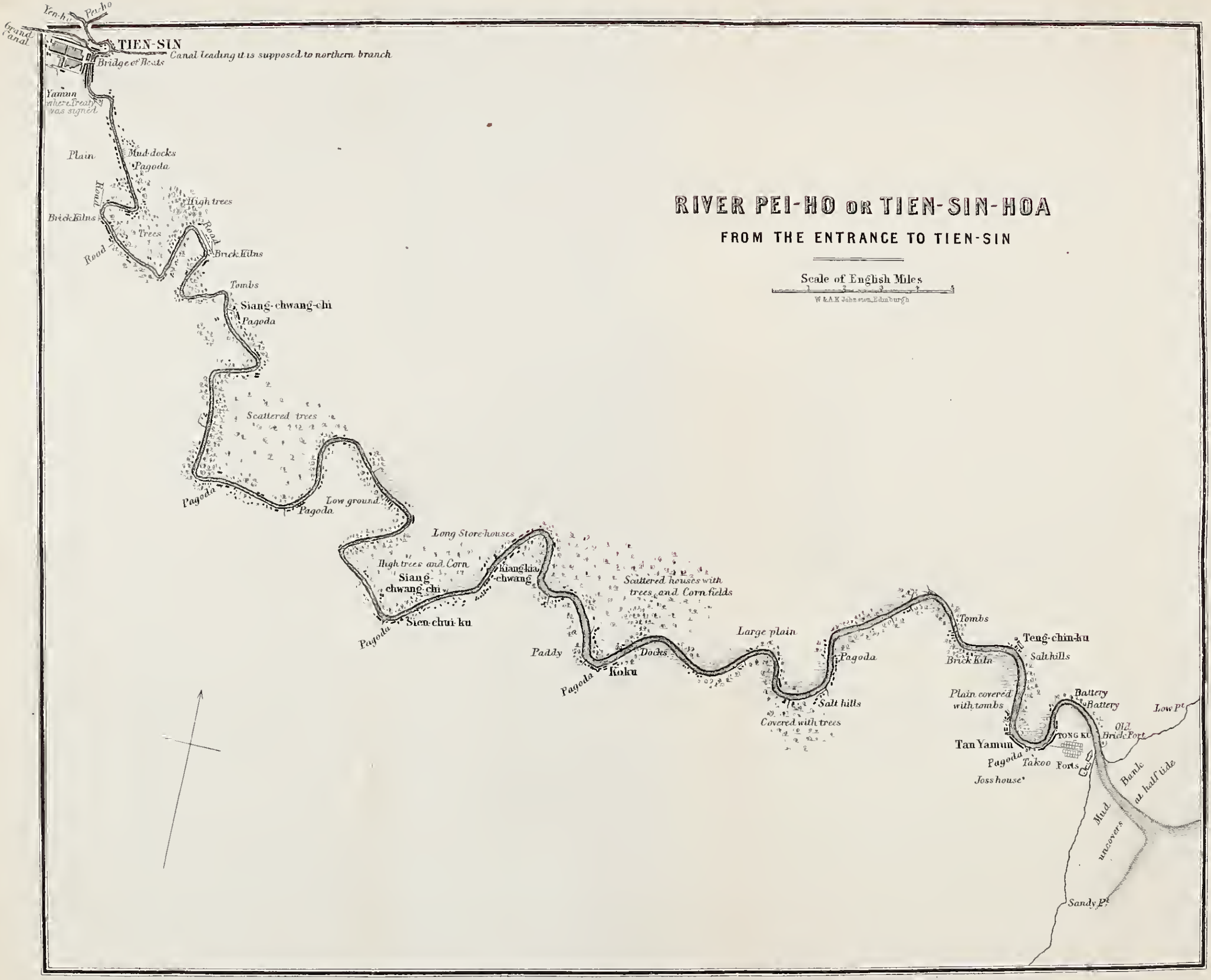
* The qué-hwá, or què flower, is the *Olea fragrans*, the blossom of which yields a rich perfume. This plant is accepted as the emblem of the degree Kin-jin, equivalent to our M.A.; and plucking a sprig of the qué-hwá is, therefore, equivalent to attaining his second literary degree.

CHAPTER XVI.

ASCENT OF THE RIVER—A CROWD OF JUNKS—ASTONISHMENT OF POPULATION—THEIR SUBMISSIVE BEHAVIOUR—BRILLIANT BONFIRES—A STEPPE COUNTRY—APPEARANCE OF THE VILLAGES—DIFFICULTIES OF NAVIGATION—FIRST VIEW OF TIENTSIN—A DEPUTATION OF MERCHANTS—APPOINTMENT OF IMPERIAL COMMISSIONERS—THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES ASCEND THE PEIHO—APPROACH TO TIENTSIN—DENSE CROWDS—"THE TEMPLE OF SUPREME FELICITY"—VIEW OF THE RIVER—MAKING OURSELVES COMFORTABLE—BEDROOMS IN THE TEMPLE—FURTHER EXPLORATION OF THE PEIHO—ARRIVAL OF RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN MINISTERS—THEIR ABODES—PEAN—ARRIVAL OF THE IMPERIAL COMMISSIONERS—FULL POWERS AT LAST—OUR OFFICIAL PROCESSION—"THE TEMPLE OF THE OCEANIC INFLUENCES"—INTERVIEW WITH THE COMMISSIONERS—EXCHANGE OF FULL POWERS—ABRUPT TERMINATION OF THE INTERVIEW—ARRIVAL OF THE KWANG-FANG—KWEILIANG—HWASHANA—SUCCESS OF LORD ELGIN'S POLICY—ITS BEARING ON AFFAIRS AT CANTON—BRIGHTER PROSPECTS.

THE day following the capture of the forts was devoted to repose after our exertions. On the 22d, however, a report reached our distant anchorage, to which I had returned, that the allied Admirals had decided on moving up the river. It had originally been arranged that they should be accompanied in the first instance by the Plenipotentiaries; but as it



RIVER PEI-HO OR TIEN-SIN-HOA

FROM THE ENTRANCE TO TIEN-SIN

Scale of English Miles

W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh

was now understood that the presence of the representatives of all four powers—two of whom were neutrals—might rather prove an encumbrance than otherwise, Lord Elgin expressed his readiness to await the Admirals' pleasure on the subject, anxious to avoid any act which might embarrass the naval authorities in the unlikely event of their being induced, by a very active opposition, to exchange their pacific for a warlike attitude. I was, however, permitted to accompany the force upon this occasion, and found quarters on board the Opossum with my old friend Commander Colin Campbell.

On my way, I landed at the North Fort to inspect a gigantic brass gun captured by the Cormorant, and also to explore the scene of desolation for which her guns were responsible. These forts were even more substantially constructed than those on the south side, but upon no known principle of fortification. The consequence was a terrible slaughter to the exposed garrison, twenty-nine of whom had been counted lying round their guns in one battery. The commandant of the fort had not yet been buried, and was lying at the door of his room, a round-shot having struck him just as he was emerging from it. Every building was riddled, and shells, entering from the exposed rear, had burst inside the bomb-proof chambers, so that the garrison was little to be blamed for only waiting a quarter of an hour in so warm a locality. The Cormorant moved up, the next morning, to the barrier, through which an opening had been made to permit the egress of the junks, which were being cleared out of the river by the Admirals' and advanced gunboats.

The villagers of Takoo now came boldly down to the water's edge and communicated with us; and we amused ourselves and the populace by driving a donkey tandem through the narrow streets.

About mid-day the Opossum was ready to start for the front, but the passage through the junk barrier seemed an impossibility. Temple Bar on a wet day never looked more hopelessly crowded to a gentleman in a hansom anxious to catch a train, than did the junk barrier to us, anxious to overtake the Admiral. At last we dashed at it in despair, and by a miracle of steering, which created a panic among the crews of the junks, who were all running into each other—crushing, jamming, and shouting at the same moment—succeeded in squeezing safely through. The breadth of the river at this point was not more than that of the Thames at Richmond. Its banks were thickly fringed by long reeds, behind the waving tops of which saltpans extended as far as the eye could reach, covered with conical tumuli of varied dimensions. Borne onward by a strong flood-tide, we swept round the sharp angles with which the river abounds throughout the whole length of its tortuous course from Tientsin, and soon found ourselves between banks of a more cheerful character. The gaunt reed had given place to the more profitable holcus, or Barbadoes millet, fields of which, bordered by willows, and neatly fenced in the neighbourhood of the villages, imparted quite a civilised air to the country.

In two hours we arrived at the reach in which the Admirals were at anchor with five gunboats, and in company with them went quietly along, feeling our way with no little interest and curiosity, up waters for the first time ploughed by a foreign keel. Towards evening the mud villages became more numerous: their entire populations turned out as the leading gunboats passed, and saluted them with profound and reverential obeisances, then squatted in a long blue line upon the river's bank, and gazed in awe-struck wonderment as our ardent little craft, defying wind and tide, puffed steadily along, a slight commotion under her stern being the only external evidence to the Celestial eye of the demon that was propelling her. Our progress was in some measure retarded by the necessity which existed of clearing all the junks out of the river as we advanced, lest, in so narrow a stream, the authorities might order them to be sunk behind us, with the view of catching us in a trap. Although, doubtless, this was a very proper precaution, it was perfectly evident, from the panic which our appearance created, that no real danger was to be apprehended on this score, and that, so far from wishing to entrap us, they would be only too glad to get rid of us. The villagers were clearly under the impression that we were on our way to upset the dynasty. I accompanied Captain Hall and Mr Lay to the shore, when the latter gentleman had some communication with the people. It invariably commenced, however, with a request that we should come and reign over them. "Hail, O King!" they shouted, as we approached; "welcome, Great King! be thou our Emperor; come thou and reign over us!" Then they would protest with the greatest earnestness their intention immediately to comply with the order to clear out their junks, and offer provisions of all sorts, refusing to receive money; this latter piece of politeness arising from dread of their own authorities, and the rest of their civility being based upon the alarm inspired by ourselves, and a prudent desire to propitiate the incoming dynasty. When asked to procure beef or other provisions not easy to get, they would urgently plead the difficulty of obtaining any, but submissively conclude by saying, "However, since you the Great King command, we must obey." Meantime, when the junks did not clear out fast enough, we cut their cables, sending whole fleets of them occasionally pell-mell down the river.

But we were not content with marking our track by these floating evidences of our progress; our advance was heralded by huge bonfires, which were made of stacks of millet straw, their position upon the margin of the river rendering them too available for fire-rafts to make it wise to leave them behind us, to be floated up with a flood-tide on the first dark night. As night closed in, the lurid glare cast by these huge conflagrations over the sky, doubtless carried terror into the hearts of mandarin and peasant; while upon ourselves the effect was no less solemn and impressive. A broad belt of light shed its glowing lustre upon a grove of large trees, illuminating its sombre recesses, but throwing into gloom yet deeper by contrast those which were still in shade. The thick foliage flushed for a moment, then crackled and withered up under the scorching heat, leaving the scarred and naked branch like a maimed limb extended towards the blaze. The river eddied and rippled in the ruddy light, and the gunboats, with every spar and rope vividly distinct, seemed anchored in a sheet of flame.

Our day's work was over. We had reached a point about twenty miles from the mouth of the river, not only without molestation, but with every demonstration of good-will on the part of the inhabitants; and I went to bed, encouraged by the hope that, as this absence of hostilities seemed likely to continue, we might still succeed, with our force of nine allied gunboats, then anchored at or near the spot, in reaching Tientsin.

On the following morning we had another most convincing and satisfactory proof of the anxiety of the enemy (if such they could be called under the circumstances) to avoid us. On going up to the fore-top of the Opossum, I observed encamped on the plain, at a distance of about a mile and a half, a large body of cavalry, estimated at about a thousand by Captain Osborn, who, in company with Sir Frederick

Nicolson, was in the Bustard and Staunch leading gunboats. They threw a round-shot or two amongst them, on which they speedily decamped. They were in all probability the same cavalry which had retreated on the capture of the forts. We were detained a few hours this morning for the French Admiral, who had got aground a short distance astern of us; and in the mean time I inspected the surrounding country through a glass. It reminded me in many respects of the south of Russia. The only trees visible were those which marked the course of the Peiho; and, indeed, inasmuch as in whatever direction one turned, the river was always in sight, the trees which wooded it were sufficient to wood the landscape as well. Throughout its whole course to Tientsin I observed no stream or canal of any note entering it. The country stretched away to the horizon a dry brown steppe, and across it, in labyrinthine twists and most eccentric windings, the Peiho finds its way to the sea, watering at least twice the extent of country which it would traverse did it flow in a straight line. The banks are composed of clay and sand, and I scarcely remember to have seen a stone either at Tientsin or on the way there.

Not far from our anchorage there was a large village. On the dusty main road to it there passed a considerable traffic—covered carts and donkey tandems predominated. One large waggon drawn by six or eight horses going at full trot, and crowded with passengers, appeared to be a stage-waggon. I also observed wheel-barrows—a man being in the shafts and a donkey leading. Sometimes these carry passengers, the occupants sitting back to back, as in an open Irish car, on each side of the single huge wheel which works in the middle, between them. I was particularly struck with the neatness of construction of the solid mud cottages of which the villages are composed. The angles are all sharply finished, the gables adorned with ornamental moulding, the overhanging eaves of an excellently thatched roof, neatly trimmed, and rising out of it a respectable solid pair of chimneys. Circular brick kilns, like watch-towers, here and there dotted the landscape, as bricks are occasionally used for joss-houses and the superior order of residences.

Hedges, fences, and mud walls divided the fields near the river-bank, but away from the possibility of navigation, the country looked barren and uncultivated; primitive docks with mud dams contained junks undergoing repair, or in process of construction; and the tapering masts of these craft were visible in all directions, as they were anchored in different bends of the river. Now we could make out the smoke of our leading gunboats to the right, now to the left, now in front, now almost behind us, so interminable and intricate seemed the windings of the stream. Fortunately our only difficulty lay in getting some of the larger craft round the sharp turns; of water there was always abundance in mid-channel, the soundings never giving less than two fathoms, and sometimes as much as seven. The French gunboats especially were constantly sticking on the sharp angles, their length and want of power rendering it a difficult operation to steer them in a narrow river with a strong tide running. Occasionally the Coromandel shared the same fate; but by getting out hawsers to the shore, she was hauled into the stream; and the villagers coming to the rescue in a strong body, and tugging away cheerfully at the ropes, facilitated the task considerably. Still we did not make so much progress as on the previous day, having accomplished probably ten or twelve miles.

Upon several occasions official messengers, with the buttons of petty mandarins, were observed waving on the shore, and making signs of their desire to communicate with us. Only once, however, was this attended to, and the messenger turned out to be the emissary of the magistrate of the district, who expressed a wish to hold intercourse with us; the Admiral, however, very properly refused to incur any delay, or open communications with any one until he arrived at Tientsin.

The next day our advance was not more rapid; indeed, we were left behind by the Admiral and advanced gunboats, in consequence of being attached to the Fusée, a heavy French craft that stood in need of much pulling and hauling at the corners. It is worthy of note that all our eighty and sixty horse-power gunboats traversed the river without the slightest difficulty, subsequently making the passage in eight hours; and even the Cormorant despatch gun-vessel got up to Tientsin from Takoo in about twelve hours.

We passed in the course of the day a barrier of junks, which, however, were soon sent floating down the stream, and offered no material impediment to our advance. On the 26th we reached a point within a mile and a half of Tientsin, the country as we advanced having become more thickly populated, the banks more richly cultivated, and the river itself more crowded with junks. From the mast-head of the Opossum the gates and pagodas of the city were distinctly visible. It was reported that the Bustard and Staunch had actually reached the suburb, and as the achievement had thus been successfully completed, the Opossum was sent back to the Gulf with the news; and I had the satisfaction of reporting to Lord Elgin, by midnight of the same day, the gratifying intelligence of the fortunate issue of the expedition.

The Admirals did in effect reach Tientsin within a few hours afterwards, and Admiral Seymour was immediately waited upon by a deputation of leading merchants and gentry. These people being impressed with the absurd notion that our real object, in pursuing a vigorous policy in China, was an extension of our commercial relations with it, immediately offered to trade with the gunboats then at Tientsin, in spite, they themselves averred, of the opposition of their government, and requested the Admiral to send in a list of the merchandise he wished to dispose of, together with their prices; and in consideration of his finding a ready market, they went on to express a hope that he would spare the town. Mr Lay informed these gentlemen that we desired not trade, but Commissioners, and that, if these did not speedily make their appearance, he feared the town would be destroyed; upon which the deputation stated that they would themselves proceed to Pekin, and knock without ceasing at the Imperial Palace; and they guaranteed that by their importunity they would obtain Commissioners, and hoped that in the mean time their august Excellencies, then in the river, would be satisfied with abundance of beef and provisions, upon which numbers of oxen were incontinently brought to the bank and sacrificed as peace-offerings.

. . . . . .

During my absence the Sampson had arrived from Hong-Kong with the Woodcock and Kestrel, forty-horse-power gunboats, in tow, and having on board a company of Royal Engineers, 105 strong.

On the following morning Mr Bruce proceeded up the river, to make arrangements for the reception of the Ambassador; and on the 29th news was received from him that these were completed, and that no obstacle remained to impede the immediate progress of the allied Plenipotentiaries.

On the same day another and more important communication was received, the last with which we were favoured from our old friends Tan, Tsung, and Wu. It enclosed, without comment, a copy of the following Imperial decree: "We command Kweiliang, Chief Secretary of State, and Hwashana, President of the Board of Civil Office, to go by post route to the port of Tientsin, for the investigation and despatch of business. Respect this."

The fact that this document emanated from the court, immediately on the report reaching Pekin of the arrival of our gunboats at Tientsin, not only thoroughly bore out the view of the Plenipotentiaries in the estimate they had formed of the probable effects of the policy they had pursued hitherto, but served as a most complete justification of that policy, inasmuch as the Imperial Government, by at once superseding Tan & Company, tacitly acknowledged their mismanagement of affairs, and by the appointment of two new commissioners gave a fresh proof of their desire to settle matters amicably. With any other nation one would have supposed that the capture of the forts at the mouth of one of its rivers, and its subsequent ascent by a hostile force, would have called forth a warlike demonstration instead of a civil commission.

The Chinese differ, however, from other nations, and fortunately the Plenipotentiaries appreciated the distinction. This news, of course, rendered their immediate departure for Tientsin more than ever imperative; and it was therefore arranged that Lord

Elgin and Baron Gros should proceed up the river the same evening. As it was discovered at the last moment that the French gunboat appropriated to Baron Gros's use was unable to ascend the river, from defective machinery, his Excellency and staff accompanied the English mission in the Slaney. A lovely moon lighted up the windings of our watery path, and tempted us to remain on deck till a late hour; and as we swept rapidly past grove and hamlet, we regarded with wonder, in the pale clear gleam of that midnight hour, all the evidences of a population as tranquil and unsuspecting of danger as though the thunder of barbarian guns had never fallen on their ears, or as if their countrymen flying before the barbarian bayonet was a sight devoid of all significance.

Yet scarce a week had elapsed since the fortifications these poor peasantry had gazed on wonderingly, as impregnable fortresses, had been levelled with the ground, and an army, in their eyes invincible, had been scattered to the winds. Now the pant of the steam-engine mingled with their dreams, but was powerless to keep them awake; and so thoroughly was this mutual confidence established, that a solitary gunboat, in the dead of night, was fearlessly threading its way through an enemy's country, along the narrow and devious river which formed the highroad to the capital—the mysteries of which, a week before, were unknown to the foreigner; and on board that lonely bark which now traversed it for almost the first time, were the Ambassadors of the two greatest powers in the world, forcing their way into the heart of a country containing 300,000,000 inhabitants, in defiance of the will of the Government, as expressed by an overt act of hostility only a few days before. Probably no British minister ever performed a journey in the country to which he was accredited under such anomalous circumstances as those which attended the one upon which Lord Elgin was now engaged; not even Lords Macartney and Amherst, when in the same capacity they ascended this same river in Chinese junks, and inscribed themselves as "tribute-bearers" on the flags which floated from their mast-heads.

Daylight found us in the suburbs of Tientsin, the first aspect of which, as approached from the east, is most remarkable; enormous stacks of salt, numbering from two to three hundred, line the banks of the river for some hundreds of yards below the town; these stacks vary in length from two hundred to six hundred feet and average about a hundred in breadth; they are twenty or thirty feet in height, shaped like the rounded top of a carrier's waggon, and covered with matting, or thatched with millet straw—the salt being stacked in bags. Passing these we arrived at a bridge of boats, which connected one of the suburbs with the city, and which was opened to let us through. The river now flows between banks ten or twelve feet high, and densely populated; the mud houses were packed closely on either side, and their occupants still more compactly wedged, not only down to the water's edge, but into it up to their waists, in order to gaze at their ease on the phenomenon before them. Thus an oblique plane of upturned faces and bare heads extended almost from the surface of the water to the eaves of the houses; and up to the last day of our residence the banks were always more or less crowded with spectators, watching the movements of the barbarians. A long straight reach extends from below the bridge of boats to the point of the junction of the river and the grand canal, which enters the Peiho at right angles from the southward, and here terminates its extended course of about 600 miles.

Directly facing us, as we steamed up this reach, past a line of our own gunboats, which were anchored in it, was a picturesque line of buildings, abreast of which the allied Admirals were moored. This fragile and somewhat fantastic construction suggested the notion of a summer palace. We were informed that as such it had, in fact, served the Emperor Kienlung, in honour of which happy event it had been invested by imperial patent with the title of "The Temple of Supreme Felicity," under which auspicious designation it was now about to serve as our abode.

We were soon clambering up the steep bank, finding some difficulty in freeing ourselves from the services which were officiously pressed upon us by the Chinamen who crowded it, and who, thrusting forth helping hands, seemed anxious to show us every mark of civility. We found, when we stood within the walls which enclosed our future residence, that it was not belied by its external aspect. As is generally the case in China, it served the double purpose of a temple and a palace, though it had not been honoured with the imperial presence since the Emperor Kien-lung had made it his temporary abode.

Upon the top of the wall, which was only separated from the edge of the river-bank by a narrow pathway, were two large apartments of light and graceful construction, surrounded by verandahs, elaborately carved, in which depended monster horn-lanterns, gaudily painted, as transparent as ground glass, and decorated with innumerable tassels and silken hangings. The Chinese have carried the art of fabricating these lanterns to great perfection. They first soften the horn by the application of a very high degree of moist heat, and then extend it into thin laminæ of any shape, either flat or globular. The walls of these rooms were composed of paper pasted upon the wooden trellis-work; the sliding-panels into which it was divided were made to answer the purpose of windows. When they were all shut, however, the paper was so transparent that there was plenty of light, and on a sunny day the glare was unpleasant. These two buildings were thirty or forty yards apart, and connected by a verandah which ran along the top of the wall, and terminated in two quaint little kiosks, their up-turned roofs supported by carved posts. These apartments were appropriated by Baron Gros and

Lord Elgin; that occupied by the latter being perched upon an artificial mound, laid out in true Chinese taste, and ascended by steps of ornamental rockwork. Overhanging the river, they commanded an extensive and ever-interesting view: below them a dozen English and French gunboats, some of them moored within pleasant conversational distance, imparted a satisfactory sense of security to the position.

Not a single native craft, except an occasional ferry-boat, rippled the surface of the stream, or reposed upon its waters. What a metamorphosis had been wrought in a few hours by the magic devil-ships from the west! We were not able to appreciate it, but to the Chinese the change must have been startling and significant. We learn from the accounts of the embassies of Lords Macartney and Amherst, how active the river life at Tientsin was in their day. "We crossed a bridge over the river," says the historian of Lord Amherst's mission, "the surface of which was scarcely visible from junks;" and again, "I counted 200 spectators on one junk, and these vessels were innumerable." The spectators were as numerous as ever, but their posts of observation were no longer junks. People and houses completed the view from these windows; a part of the city wall, one of the gates, and some pagodas, appearing at no great distance to the right.

The *personnel* of the two missions were accommodated in the temple, and other buildings all enclosed within one outer wall. A partition wall, however, divided us from our allies. They occupied a number of detached summer-houses, dotted about a garden. We established ourselves in the innermost recesses of the temple, our bedrooms furnished with sacred pigs and bronzes, in which smouldered eternal fire (until we came and allowed it to go out); our slumbers presided over by grim deities, with enormous stomachs, or many-armed goddesses, with heads encircled in a blaze of golden or rather brass flame. The perfume of incense still clung to these sacred purlieus. Would it had been the only odour to which our nostrils were subjected! Now began the process commonly known

A Bedroom at Tientsin.

as "shaking down" into our quarters: altars were turned into washhand-stands; looking-glasses were supported against little gods; tables, chairs, and beds were indented for upon certain venerable citizens, who had been appointed by the authorities to attend to our wants. Doubtless they must have wondered much at many of our demands, and some of them—as, for instance, tubs—they never succeeded in satisfying.

Servants with a white badge, emblem of an armistice, attached to their coats, waited assiduously upon us, perpetually presenting us with little cups of tea; indeed, for the first few days a man was always walking about with a teapot, ready at the shortest notice to refresh the thirsty soul. The tables with which we were supplied were solidly constructed and well carved, square in shape, as Chinese tables always are. A red cloth, elaborately embroidered, served as a tablecloth, and, falling to the ground, in front, concealed the legs of the table. The high-backed uncomfortable chairs were similarly decorated, gorgeous enough to look upon, but very disagreeable to use. Some of us erected our mosquito-curtains over square wooden ottomans; others slept upon a brick platform, generally used in China, and which in cold weather is heated by fires from beneath, after the manner of an oven—an unhealthy style of bed-place at all times, it should seem, for in summer the damp is apt to strike through the bricks, and in winter, when they are not only dry but heated, a semi-baking process must be more or less prejudicial.

In front of the temple was a square courtyard, which was partially shaded by the spreading arms of a fine old tree ; however, we thought nature required a little assistance, so the whole court was matted in, which not only added to the picturesque effect of our abode, and enabled those of us with vivid imaginations to fancy themselves in Italy, but was of a most practical utility in reducing the temperature, when mind and matter were both in danger of being melted entirely away. A raised flagged passage intersected this court, and on each side of it was a quaint little kiosk, the roof separated by four carved pillars, also elaborately carved, brilliantly coloured, and surmounted with dragons' heads, rampant fish, and other devices. In one of these a marble slab was erected vertically upon an elevated stone platform, and was covered with Chinese characters, alleged to have been traced by the hand of the Emperor Kien-lung, and to embody a high moral sentiment.

The building on the opposite side of the courtyard was formed into the guardhouse, the guard being usually composed of engineers and marines, and numbering upwards of a hundred men. Attached to this building were the servants' offices, and behind them the stables. Our establishment was thus very complete ; and it was not without a feeling of regret that I saw it dismantled, preparatory to its restoration for the rites of paganism, when, after having occupied it for upwards of a month, we looked back upon it for the last time.

As it had been deemed not impossible that it might be necessary to advance at some future period nearer to the capital, the Admiral had been induced to push two of the gunboats on an exploratory expedition still further up the Peiho. One of these, the Kestrel, was of the smallest class, and, drawing only five feet water, was well adapted for the service. At a distance of about ten miles, however, above Tientsin, even this draught proved too much, and she was compelled to return, having solved the problem that, unless considerably lightened, and not with certainty even then, the ascent of the Peiho to Toong-chow would be impracticable for our gunboats at that season of the year. From the high-water marks on the river-banks, however, there can be little doubt that at certain periods of the year the Peiho would be navigable for all classes of our gunboats. She reported the character of the river-banks above Tientsin to be unchanged.

On the afternoon of the day of our arrival, Count Poutiatine and Mr Reed arrived together in the Russian steamer "Amerika," and immediately issued a proclamation stating that their visit to Tientsin was altogether of a pacific character. The attitude they found themselves thus compelled to assume was not without its inconveniences, as compared with ours; for although exact in the payment of our just debts, we insisted upon all our reasonable wants being promptly and satisfactorily supplied. Thus we had at once appropriated the most convenient and respectable residence we could find; but our neutral allies had some difficulty in renting a house on shore: the proprietor (doubtless a good deal puzzled as to the relation of might and right in his view of the state of matters generally) made a novel proposition in the shape of an offer of 6000 dollars if they would *not rent* it. This, however, was declined, the difficulty somehow or other overcome, and a handsome rent for the short space of one month was ultimately pressed upon the reluctant owner. To judge from the appearance of the mansion, he was a rich man. Mr Reed lived in a charming retreat with a Levantine air about it; a courtyard with flowers and fountains, and ponds full of gold fish, was surrounded by cool airy apartments with paper walls, and verandahs and balconies overhanging the river. Count Poutiatine lived next door—a strip of intervening building which was impregnable from without, and consecrated to the use of the female portion of the Chinese owner's establishment, alone separating him from his colleague.

This residence was on the right bank of the river, and within view of our yamun, though distant from it about half a mile. Ere long the flags of our respective nations, waving proudly in the breeze, signified to the Chinese world of Tientsin the distinctive abodes of the chiefs of the four barbarian hordes who had thus boldly located themselves in their city.

In a country which abounded with horses and roads, it was not to be supposed that persons of an exploratory tendency were to be satisfied with pedestrian excursions ; we therefore sent in a requisition for a certain number of steeds, and after some delay were furnished with what appeared the scum of the stables of Tientsin. These were indignantly rejected, and we ultimately obtained six very respectable ponies, and six very uncomfortable Chinese saddles, very hard and angular, and garnished with extensive drapery, and an awkward bolster-shaped protuberance in front. To these uncouth contrivances, however, we ultimately became accustomed ; and I had minutely explored the country round Tientsin within a radius of about six miles before we left it.

Intelligence now reached us of the near approach of the Commissioners, and Mr Lay received a note from his friends who had formed the deputation on the day of the Admiral's arrival, calling his attention to the fact of their prompt nomination as a proof that their promise had been fulfilled. This news was confirmed on the following day (2d of June) by the Prefect of the city, Pean, who came to pay us a visit, ostensibly to see that our wants were supplied, and inform us of the proximity of the Commissioners, but really to investigate the barbarian character, and acquire importance in the eyes of the Commissioners by the fact of his having had personal intercourse with us—a proceeding the dangers of which he would no doubt descant upon, as also the wonderful talent he displayed in "soothing" our "uncontrollable fierceness."

In consequence, probably, of his own representations of his qualifications for the office, he was afterwards appointed one of the subordinates in carrying on negotiations, and proved to be a self-sufficient ambitious "intriguant:" his dishonesty, however, was so transparent, and his general bearing so offensive, that he soon became as obnoxious to his own superiors as he was to us. Upon this occasion of his first interview, his manner was one of fawning servility, while his aspect and gestures were so effeminate that the description of one of our party, who called him "a large flirt," was most appropriate. Notwithstanding an immense deal of insinuating giggle and coquetry, he failed in his principal object of seeing Lord Elgin, and returned very little wiser than when he came.

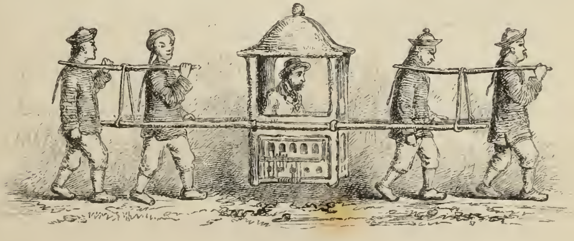
On the afternoon of the same day I was taking a ride with Fitz-Roy, making trial of our ponies and of the road to Pekin for the first time, when a cortège, preceded by a cloud of dust, indicated the approach of some grand personages. Presently appeared runners with rods of office, corresponding to javelin-men: these cleared the way, and forced the people to the right and left; then followed two stately chairs, each borne by eight stalwart bearers, containing two of the most elevated dignitaries in the realm. The common people at once brought themselves up to the attitude "attention," the hands being pressed on the outside of the thigh, and the body maintained erect and motionless. We could scarcely make out the features of the inmates through the small window of the chair, across which was stretched fine gauze; but though in all probability we were the first barbarians they had ever set eyes upon, they gazed, with all the imperturbability of Chinese dignity, impassively in front of them, their countenances manifesting neither curiosity, alarm, surprise, or any emotion whatever. Immediately behind was a dense and dusty crowd of footmen and horsemen, evidently coming off a journey, and though many of them were handsomely apparelled, and were doubtless officials of some rank, they looked worn and travel-stained. A number of excellent well-built covered baggage-waggons, drawn by four or six large fat mules, completed the procession, which was evidently one not of display, but of serious earnest.

On the following day our conjecture that we had witnessed the entry of the Commissioners was confirmed by the communication they addressed to Lord Elgin, in which, after styling themselves Imperial Commissioners and Ministers, they announced their arrival with full powers, and fixed the day after for an interview. In answer to this communication the Ambassador informed the Commissioners that, although the nature of their powers was not described in their letter, still, inasmuch as they appeared, according to the title by which they announced themselves, to be invested with authority corresponding to that conferred upon him as the Plenipotentiary minister of his Sovereign, he would make no objection to meet the Commissioners at the hour they named, "to the end that by an exchange of powers all doubt may be removed as to the sincerity of an intention on both sides to terminate existing differences by peaceful negotiation."

It did, indeed, seem to augur favourably that the term "Minister bearing full powers" should have been used, as upon no former occasion had a Chinese functionary been invested with this title; and all previous demands for a Commissioner so named had met with a decided refusal. It was consequently arranged that the interview should take place in a temple dedicated to the "Oceanic Influences." This building was situated in the middle of a plain at some distance from the town, and upwards of three miles from our yamun. The mid-day sun had now become so powerful that it was considered expedient, for the sake of the soldiers forming the guard, that the ceremony should be postponed until late in the afternoon.

At 3 P.M. on the following day we left the yamun, the thermometer then standing at 133° in the sun. The procession was composed of the Ambassador and suite, in twelve chairs, accompanied by a guard of honour of 150 marines, preceded by the band of the Calcutta. Lord Elgin's chair was of the description usually employed by mandarins of the highest rank, much larger than the ordinary size, surmounted by a brass knob, and borne by eight bearers. To avoid a long detour the chairs were sent round to meet us, and we crossed the river in boats. As usual, a dense crowd lined the river-banks, evincing the most eager interest and curiosity. Upon the guard presenting arms, the band striking up "God save the Queen," and the procession forming and commencing to move, this was converted into excitement; nor, indeed, was it to be wondered at that an event altogether unprecedented, and of so striking and novel a character, should create some sensation. A procession of 200 Chinamen marching down the Strand armed with spears, and bows and arrows, or gigantic matchlocks, with their own tails reaching to their heels, and squirrel tails adorning their conical caps, with dragon-emblazoned breasts, and trousers and sleeves of equal dimensions; surrounding chairs of state containing obese dignitaries with peacocks' feathers and red balls on their head, would probably attract a crowd; and should this crowd have become strongly impressed with the belief that in this outlandish procession they were gazing upon specimens of the race into whose hands the government of the country was about to pass, their countenances would betray a more than ordinary interest. But the effect, even then, upon an English mob would not be so great as that which our appearance was calculated to create, inasmuch as Chinamen do occasionally perambulate the streets of London, and this type of countenance and peculiarity of costume is familiar to every child who is fond of picture-books. But in a country where an "Illustrated Pekin News" does not exist, and the Chinese costume is popularly supposed to be the only dress known to the world at large, the appearance of our red-coated marines, and cocked-hat diplomates, must have been sufficiently startling.

Our way for nearly two miles led through the extensive suburb which surrounds Tientsin in almost every direction—the winding streets choked with people who only allowed a narrow lane for the passage of the procession, and who bobbed as each successive chair passed, down to the level of the window, so as to have a good view of the inmate.



Sedan Chair.

The most perfect order and silence was maintained throughout, and every sign of outward respect shown in the demeanour of the people, whose heads were uncovered, and tails let down: the latter only, however, is the usual Chinese mark of respect. The shops were all shut, but our confined position in chairs added to the intense heat, which rendered the task of observation irksome ; and the dense crowd which confined its range, prevented our doing more on this occasion than obtaining a cursory impression of the surrounding scene. At last we emerged from the labyrinth of streets we had been threading, and found ourselves on a vast open plain, and in the distance observed the group of buildings, situated upon a slight eminence, and in an isolated position, which was our destination. The intervening distance was thickly dotted with human beings, reminding one of the Epsom Downs on a Derby day.

As we approached the building, the sounds of shrill pipe and tom-tom fell upon the ear, and mingled with the martial strains of our band. A feeble intimation was made to Major Boyle, commanding the marines, that he was not to enter the gate of the court with the guard. This, however, he very properly disregarded, and soon the discordant music emitted by half-a-dozen blind performers, who stood at the door, and played probably the same air with which Lord Macartney had been honoured, of "subjugation perfected," was completely drowned in a stentorian adieu to our "own Marianne." The group of buildings enclosed within the outer wall which we had now entered, was composed of temples, audience-halls, and priests' houses, separated by courtyards of different dimensions, in which were planted rows of trees and flowering plants, the whole covering a considerable area. The audience-hall in which the Commissioners were waiting had very much the appearance of a deep verandah, as it was entirely open to the courtyard on one side, from which it was approached by a flight of steps. Opposite to these the marines drew up. The Commissioners came down the steps to meet Lord Elgin as he got out of his chair; the guard presented arms, and the band played the National Anthem. The effect of this mixture of European and Chinese ceremony was striking even to us, who were familiar with both; but to the Commissioners, totally unacquainted with Europeans, the sudden appearance of 150 stalwart bearded soldiers, as they poured into the inmost court of the temple, must have been alarming; and as the hoarse word of command was given within a few yards of them, followed by the ringing clink of the muskets on the paved yard, and the roll of the big drum, they might be excused if a momentary suspicion flashed across their minds that the fate of Yeh might be in reserve for them.

Lord Elgin was now invited to a seat at a long table, covered with sundry descriptions of Chinese delicacies, the Commissioners being seated upon either side of him. After the whole party had been accommodated with chairs round this table, and the usual preliminary compliments had passed, the Ambassador stated that the object of the meeting being, as is usual in such cases, an exchange of full powers, he had brought his, and they were forthwith produced and read.

The full powers of the Commissioners were then handed to Kweiliang, upon a tray covered with a cloth of imperial yellow. The venerable mandarin, after receiving them with every mark of respect, and holding them for a moment elevated above his head in a reverential attitude, handed them to Mr Wade, who translated the document. Although the terms of the decree conferring full powers on the Imperial Commissioners were reasonably large, still Lord Elgin, on inquiry, ascertained that the Commissioners had not been put in possession of a seal of office, termed the Kwang-fang. When he complained of this omission, he was informed by them, that this seal was only given to officers holding permanent situations. Being apprehensive that some mystification might be involved in this explanation, he deemed the circumstance one which warranted him in manifesting some displeasure. Nor was he sorry to avail himself of the opportunity, knowing the importance which the Chinese attach to expression and manner, to make his dissatisfaction apparent. Among the Chinese the physiognomy and deportment of the individual are carefully noted, as indices of the spirit in which the affairs with the management of which he is intrusted are likely to be conducted; and in their dealings with foreigners especially, we have repeated evidence, from the accounts given in their official despatches of the varied expression of the barbarian countenance, that the functionaries employed were much guided in the tone they held, by the emotions they thought they could detect as portrayed in the physiognomy.

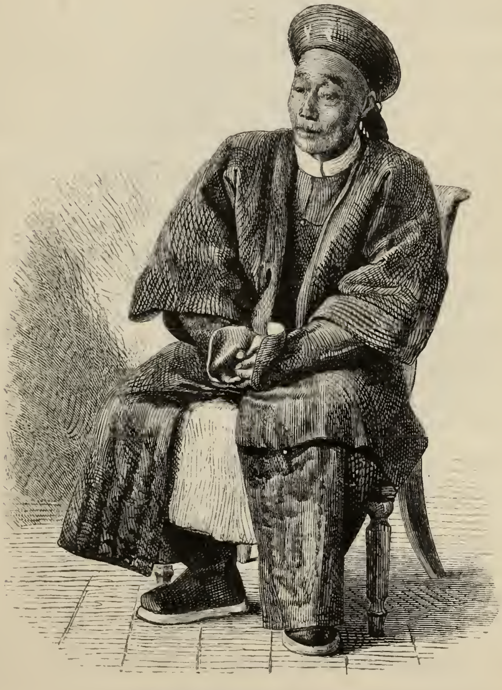
Lord Elgin had arrived at Tientsin as the representative of a nation whose dignity had been outraged. It had been necessary to have recourse to violence, and to force an entry into the country, to obtain satisfaction for insults; and any symptom of reluctance to grant it rendered a stern, uncompromising bearing doubly necessary. He accordingly declined the refreshment which was pressed upon him, and terminated the meeting abruptly, stating, as he did so, that he would reserve for a written communication any remarks he might have to make upon the subject of the full powers. As he descended the steps to his chair, the most undisguised dismay was depicted on the countenances of the Commissioners and their satellites, the former hurrying after the Ambassador to his chair with a profusion of protestations and remonstrances.

This meeting was productive of the most salutary effect, and led precisely to the result desired by Lord Elgin. A communication from the Commissioners arrived very shortly afterwards, requesting that Mr Lay might be allowed to visit them, and assist them with his advice in the difficult circumstances in which they found themselves placed. Mr Lay's position at Shanghai, where he held the appointment under the Chinese Government of Inspector of Customs, had brought him into close and intimate contact with their officials; and he possessed their confidence to an extent probably never accorded to a European. As Lord Elgin had the highest opinion of this gentleman's capacity and judgment, it was most desirable that the Chinese should place him in the position relatively to themselves in which Lord Elgin most wished to see him. From this period Mr Lay was in daily communication with the Chinese Commissioners, and affairs were thus early put into a train which enabled them to be brought to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion.

The mission of Mr Lay, however, being somewhat of a confidential or non-official character, Lord Elgin kept up his official intercourse with the Commissioners by insisting that the Kwang-fang should be obtained without delay. In this application he was quite successful: the Kwang-fang was sent down from Pekin, and the much-vexed question of full powers set finally at rest.

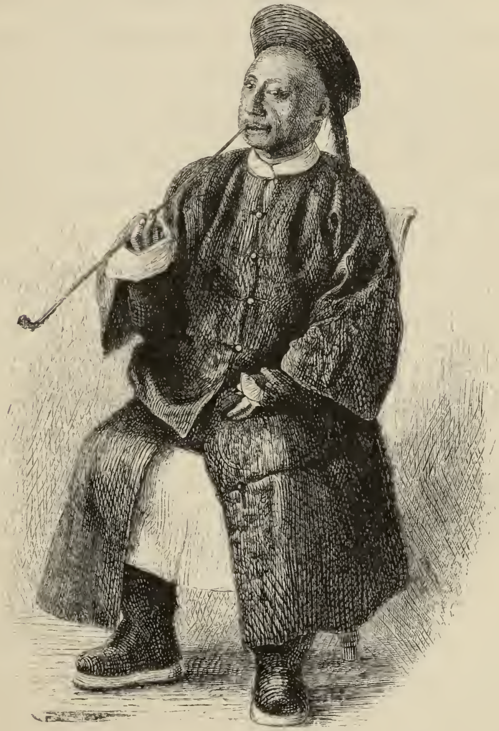
Such was the nature and such the results of the first interview of Lord Elgin with the Imperial Commissioners. It did not last a quarter of an hour; nor did the Ambassador again visit the "Temple of the Oceanic Influences," or meet the Commissioners, till he went there finally to sign the treaty. At the ceremony above described, the Commissioners were dressed in the plain but handsome costume of the Chinese mandarin, the only mark denoting their high rank being the opaque red button and peacock's feather;

a tippet of rich maroon silk covered their shoulders and arms; and with the exception of one or two rings, their persons were devoid of all ornament. As is usual upon all occasions of ceremonial interviews, numbers of minor officials crowded the apartment, eagerly listening to the conversation, while four or five intelligent-looking secretaries took notes in writing of all that passed.



Kweiliang, First Imperial Commissioner.

The senior Commissioner, Kweiliang, was a venerable man, of placid and benevolent expression, with a countenance full of intelligence, though his eye was somewhat dimmed and his hand palsied from extreme age. His manners were polished and dignified, and his whole bearing that of a perfect gentleman. He is a Tartar, and has risen to his present high position after a long course of services. His brother Iliang was Governor-General of the Two Kiangs (in one of which Shanghai is situated), and his account of the visit of Mr Maclane to the neighbourhood of Soo-chow has been already alluded to. Kweiliang himself was Governor-General of the province of Chih-li at the period of Sir John Bowring's visit to the Gulf of Pechelee in 1854. He then ranked as second Manchu in the Empire, Yu-ching, the senior Chief-Secretary or Prime Minister, being the first. Yu-ching died during the negotiations. His full titles, under which he signed the treaty, were as follows: "Kweiliang, a senior Chief-Secretary of State, styled of the East Cabinet, Captain-General of the Plain White Banner of the Manchu Banner Force, and Superintendent-General of the Administration of Criminal Law." His colleague, Hwashana, a mandarin of the same grade, was a much younger man, with a square, solid face, and a large nose. In general appearance he reminded one strongly of the pictures of Oliver Cromwell; and in the lines of the lower part of his countenance, much firmness and decision of character were apparent. He styles himself "one of his Imperial Majesty's Expositors of the Classics, Manchu President of the Office for the Regulation of the Civil Establishment, Captain-General of the Bordered Blue Banner of the Chinese Banner Force, and Visitor of the Office of Interpretation." The accompanying portraits are copied from photographs taken by the Hon. N. Jocelyn.



Hwashana, Second Imperial Commissioner.

Within the two or three days following our meeting with the Chinese Commissioners, Baron Gros, Count Poutiatine, and Mr Reed, had interviews with their Excellencies, and expressed themselves respectively satisfied with the full powers which they produced.

It will thus appear, from the above narrative of events, that the allied Plenipotentiaries had every reason to be satisfied with the results of the policy they had persevered in hitherto, in spite of the many obstacles which had been interposed. It was evident that the Imperial Cabinet was thoroughly alarmed, and that the Plenipotentiary Commissioners sent down to treat were prepared to make an extensive sacrifice of national prejudices, in order to relieve the Government from the standing menace which was presented by our appearance at Tientsin, and naval occupation of the Peiho to that point.

The opinion recorded by Lord Elgin on the occasion of his first arrival in China, that the only solution of the problem, as it then stood, was in the exercise of a moral pressure of this description in the neighbourhood of the capital, was now in process of justification. By these means alone he conceived that, without in any way interfering with the flourishing trade which, in spite of our misunderstanding with the Imperial authorities in the south, was being carried on at the ports, and any interruption to which would have been most disastrous to our commercial interests, the great object of the mission he had undertaken to China might be gained, and a lasting and satisfactory treaty effected. But it had seemed almost hopeless that, with the limited force at that early period at his disposal, any such measure could ever be successfully undertaken. Baron Gros not having arrived, the French support was hypothetical.

An army of scarce 2500 men, still on their way from England, and the naval force then on the station, composed the entire resources upon which the Ambassador could depend, in the attempt he was about to make to obtain satisfaction from the Imperial Government, and extort from it a treaty of a more extensive scope than that which was granted to Sir Henry Pottinger only after two-thirds of the seaboard had been ravaged, the Imperial troops repeatedly vanquished, and the principal cities of the Empire stormed and captured. The expenditure of men alone upon that occasion, from sickness and other causes, was numerically as large as the whole force with which greater results were now to be achieved. But even then Lord Elgin might have adhered to his original intention of proceeding to the north as soon as the season permitted and the troops arrived, had not the conduct of affairs at Canton produced complications of so anomalous and intricate a nature that, upon his arrival at Hong-Kong in September, he found himself compelled to abandon his idea of a northern expedition, and to devote to the capture and occupation of Canton the force which he had designed for Pekin.

He still clung to the hope, however, that a portion of it might yet prove available for this purpose, and the object of his visit to Calcutta was so far gained, that he succeeded in obtaining a valuable reinforcement of native regiments. He further believed that a form of government might be established at Canton, which would facilitate the task of its military occupation, and enable the General to spare some of his troops for service in the north. In this expectation he was not disappointed: by the Sampson, which brought up the engineers, he received an intimation from General Straubenzee, that, if more troops were required, they could be spared ; and on the 4th of June, on the very day of the first interview with the Commissioners above described, the Fury left the Gulf of Pechelee, for the purpose of bringing to the scene of negotiations the 59th regiment. There can be little doubt that the timely arrival of this regiment removed from the Imperial mind the last shadow of doubt as to the necessity of concluding the treaty. In a word, then, the policy of the allied Plenipotentiaries, as so far developed, had in effect placed the Emperor in their grasp, and the dynasty itself at their mercy, without in any way endangering the European communities at the ports, or even disturbing their trade. It was, indeed, matter for congratulation that they had at last succeeded in placing themselves in this favourable attitude, with a force so limited and hampered, and under such adverse influences generally. It may be readily imagined that the five weeks we passed at Tientsin formed a most cheerful contrast to the same period spent in the Gulf of Pechelee. There we had more than once utterly despaired of ultimate success ; now we felt that, though disappointed in our hopes of reaching Pekin, the doubts and anxieties we had experienced would probably be more than compensated for by a diplomatic triumph.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CHANCES OF A CHINESE POLITICAL CAREER—ARRIVAL OF KEYING—INTERVIEW WITH HIM—ADVERSE POLICY OF KEYING—HIS HOSTILITY TO THE COMMISSIONERS—PROOFS OF HIS INSINCERITY—SECOND INTERVIEW OF MESSRS WADE AND LAY—KEYING'S MEMORIAL—KEYING'S TREATMENT OF BARBARIANS—A DISAGREEABLE EXPOSÉ—CONSEQUENCES OF HIS OFFENCE—A LENIENT SENTENCE—THE EMPEROR'S DECREE—KEYING'S SUICIDE.

A FEW days after the incidents recounted in the last chapter, an episode occurred singularly illustrative of the vicissitudes of Chinese official life, and of the dangers to which those are exposed in the Celestial Empire, who are either "born to greatness, or have greatness thrust upon them." The account which has been already given of the fortunes of Tan exhibits, in a striking manner, the dilemma in which the Imperial Government places its high functionaries, when it forces them under the severest penalties to accept positions from which it is morally impossible for them to escape, without incurring failure. There can be little doubt that the Imperial Government often appoints a man to an office with the express intention that he should serve as a scape-goat, and be sacrificed to its own folly or incompetency. The system of unscrupulously immolating innocent subordinates, to screen guilty superiors, extends through the whole of Chinese official life; and so well recognised is this principle amongst them, that, in the numerous misunderstandings our authorities have had with the Chinese, the latter have invariably sought to lay the blame on one of our own inferior officers, with a view of enabling the superior to retreat with honour from a false position, should he desire to do so. If, however, the British official maintains his ground, as is commonly the case, the Chinese gets out of the scrape by a similar process.

When a high official position is attended with these inconveniences, it will readily be understood that intrigue amongst Imperial officers often takes a precisely opposite direction to that which it commonly assumes in Europe, and that, so far from attempting the ruin of your greatest enemy by opposing his advancement, there are circumstances under which a Chinese politician can most surely gratify his revenge by procuring his nomination to an important and hazardous service, the refusal of which would entail the same extreme penalty which will be the result of his inevitable failure. Not only in the Chinese world of fact, but in their realms of fiction, is this practice used to point the moral and adorn the tale; and in many of their romances the interest of the plot is made to turn upon some crisis in which the virtuous hero is made the victim of a fatal promotion.

It is impossible for us to do more than speculate upon the secret motives which may have induced the Imperial Government to nominate Keying, in an independent capacity, to assist in the settlement of the barbarian business. That this appointment was more probably due to the able intrigues of his enemies, than the ill-advised efforts of his friends, may be inferred from the fact that the high officers who first moved the Emperor to raise him from disgrace, and employ him at Tientsin, were the first to denounce him as worthy of death in consequence of his conduct there : though it must be remembered that, in China, the only chance which the man who recommends an incompetent *employé* has of saving his own head is, to be the first to denounce his nominee should he prove a failure.

Be that as it may, Lord Elgin was not a little surprised to receive an intimation from the old friend of Sir Henry Pottinger, whose name is most familiar to English ears as the negotiator of the last treaty, and who contrived, during the short period of his intercourse with Europeans, to create in their minds so high an estimate of his intelligence and good faith, announcing his arrival, but not stating that he held any official rank, while he at the same time requested an interview with the Ambassador.

Lord Elgin at first felt somewhat disposed to overlook this informality, in favour of a man whose presence at the scene of negotiations might appear to indicate the existence of a strong desire on the part of the

Emperor to terminate existing difficulties amicably. The reputation which Keying had earned in his management of barbarian business had been founded on his conciliatory treatment of them; still we were in possession of documents invalidating his sincerity, and we knew that his conciliatory policy had led to his disgrace. Messrs Wade and Lay were, therefore, sent in to express Lord Elgin's regret at not being able to accord him an interview; and, at the same time, to observe the tendency manifested in his tone and sentiments.

They found an old, decrepit mandarin, half blind, and, to judge from his countenance, sinking into his dotage. He at first declared that he recognised Mr Lay, and that gentleman had some difficulty in persuading him that he had mistaken him for his father. Then he burst into tears at the deplorable position of the Celestial Empire generally, and of himself in particular, stating that he was involved in a difficulty which must end in disaster to himself. Mr Wade suspected that this was a mere theatrical effect. Mr Lay giving him credit for sincerity, to test it, Mr Wade assured him that he might be relieved from his situation, as he had no doubt Lord Elgin would write a letter peremptorily declining intercourse with him, which would be his justification to the Imperial Court. This, however, did not suit the crafty Keying, in whose senile brain some cunning still remained, and he complained that we were placing a knife to the throat of China and a pistol to its head; and gradually let it appear what his opinion was on this subject to an extent which convinced our envoys that his sentiments were distinctly hostile, so that he was requested in writing, the same evening, to postpone his visit for a few days. Notwithstanding this, however, on the day following (the 10th) Keying had the perseverance to appear at the gate of the yamun, and sent in his card, but was of course not admitted. I regretted not arriving in time to see more than the back of his chair as he was being carried away. As an historical personage, and one whose tragical end has since invested him with a deeper interest, Keying was a man worthy of having been noticed.

It may readily be supposed that the Commissioners Kweiliang and Hwashana did not regard this interloper with any favourable eye. The only definite office he seemed to fill at first was that of spy, while the Imperial Commission which he managed subsequently to obtain only qualified him more fully to put in practice the resolution he at once manifested of thwarting the Senior Commissioners in everything they proposed. We were informed, on tolerably good Chinese authority, that he totally dissented from the pacific policy by which they were actuated, and held the most pugnacious language with reference to the barbarians. To this he might have been impelled by two motives. In the first place, his independent appointment almost necessarily implied that he was expected to entertain independent views. As the views of his colleagues were "peace at any price," he felt bound to be warlike; and he the more readily adopted this tone, as he had himself, in his former dealings with us, adopted the "peace at any price" policy, and had remained in disgrace ever since. His second motive was, in fact, consequent upon this; he regarded the present as the only opportunity which was ever likely to be afforded him of retrieving his position, by becoming the vigorous advocate of a policy directly antagonistic to that which had already been his ruin: could he only show that Kweiliang and Hwashana were pursuing a course as weak and temporising as that which, in the opinion of the Imperial Government, had characterised his own diplomacy, he might still hope to clothe the nakedness of his present disgrace with the miserable remnants of the robes of honour he had torn from the backs of his colleagues.

The Commissioners finding him in this vein, and perceiving that their most earnest efforts to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the existing difficulties were likely to be frustrated by the determination to thwart a conciliatory policy manifested by Keying, earnestly requested his removal. The Emperor, however, as he himself states in his subsequent decree on the subject, knowing that he (Keying) must be aware of this, and lest he should feel embarrassed by the knowledge, again sent him orders to remain at Tientsin. But Keying, instead of taking this hint to pursue the independent policy which had been originally indicated to him, suddenly took the unexpected and indefensible course of deserting his post, thereby much delighting his enemies, and drawing upon himself the serious displeasure of his Imperial master. In order, however, to comprehend the real motive which induced him to adopt this unusual and fatal line of conduct, it is necessary to explain the nature of the interference on our part, to which we were compelled to have recourse.

It no sooner became evident to the Ambassador that Keying was endeavouring to exert an influence which, if successful, would neutralise the good dispositions of the Senior Commissioners, and imperil the final and satisfactory issue of the negotiations already commenced, than he determined to remove from the scene one whose presence was calculated to prove a serious embarrassment, the more especially as he had been furnished with unmistakable evidence that the obstructive tendencies of Keying had not been exaggerated. Fortunately, among the papers discovered in Yeh's yamun was a memorial written by this very mandarin to the Emperor upon the subject of barbarian affairs ; and the tone in which that document was conceived, furnished Lord Elgin with an instrument which, if properly used, would secure his removal from the present Commission. It was considered that the most effective and certain way of accomplishing this desirable result, would be for Messrs Wade and Lay unexpectedly to produce in his presence his own Memorial, and read it aloud for the benefit of himself and his colleagues. Accordingly, upon the 11th, or the day following the visit of Keying to the yamun, these gentlemen waited upon the Commissioners. Their first object was to present a letter complaining of the unsatisfactory reply which the Commissioners had returned, to a confidential communication made to them by the Ambassador upon the subject of the propositions, which were to form the base of the negotiations.

Upon entering the Commissioners' room, Messrs Wade and Lay found Keying present, apparently associated with them in the capacity of colleague. They adverted to the communication already received by Lord Elgin, as differing altogether in tone and spirit from the document he had been led to expect, and as being one altogether impossible to be received by him as the base for future negotiations. The Commissioners insinuated, as broadly as it was possible for them to do, in presence of Keying, that this gentleman was responsible for the letter in question, and for the tone in which it was couched. Messrs Wade and Lay remarked, that while Lord Elgin did not conceive himself entitled to dictate to the Emperor on the subject of the appointments he might be pleased to make to the Imperial Commission, it was clear that good faith on the part of the individuals likely to be engaged in the pending negotiations was a qualification of the first importance. It was evidently not in the interest of either party that a person discredited in this particular should be associated in the Commission. It would be for the Commissioners to make their own application of this principle with reference to the document which they now begged to produce, the authorship of which it was not necessary to particularise, as it was attached to the paper.

The circumstance of its having been found in Yeh's yamun at Canton amongst his private archives, imparted an additional interest, doubtless, in the eyes of the Commissioners, to this singular and interesting production of Keying. The following document was then handed to the Senior Commissioners, and read aloud by Hwashana in a subdued tone, Keying being present, but keeping well in the background, conscious that the revelations it contained would put his command of countenance to the test should he seem to pay attention to its contents:—

"*The Supplementary Memorial, detailing the peculiarities of the Receptions of the barbarian Envoys of different nations, and the Autograph* (lit. *Vermilion*) *approval of his Majesty the Emperor.*"

[The date of this Memorial was about the end of 1850.]

(*Translation.*)

"The slave Keying, upon his knees, presents a supplementary memorial to the throne. The particulars of his administration of the business of the barbarian states, and management[*] of barbarian envoys, according to circumstances, in his receptions[†] of them, have formed the subject of different memorials of your slave.

"The supplementary conditions of trade having been also negotiated by him, he has had the honour to submit the articles containing those to the sacred glance of your Majesty, who has commissioned the Board of Revenue to examine and report upon them. All which is upon record. He calls to mind, however, that it was in the seventh moon of the twenty-second year (August 1842) that the English barbarians were pacified. The Americans and French have successively followed in the summer and autumn of this year (1845). In this period of three years barbarian matters have been affected by many conditions of change, and in proportion as these have been various in character, has it become necessary to shift ground, and to adopt alterations in the means by which they were to be conciliated and held within range.[‡] They must be dealt with justly, of course, and their feelings thus appealed to; but to keep them in hand, stratagem (or diplomacy) is requisite.

"In some instances, a direction must be given them, but without explanation of the reason why; in some, their restlessness can only be neutralised by demonstrations which disarm (*lit.* dissolve) their suspicions ; in some, they have to be pleased, and moved to gratitude by concession of intercourse on a footing of equality ; and in some, before a result can be brought about, their falsity has to be blinked, nor must an estimate (of their facts) be pressed too far.

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[*] *Lit.* Riding and reining.

[†] Receptions of them as inferiors in rank.

[‡] Conciliated—*lit.* pacified, as a person or an animal that is wild, and comforted. Kept within range—*lit.* tethered.

"Bred and born in the foreign regions beyond (its boundary), there is much in the administration of the Celestial dynasty that is not perfectly comprehensible to the barbarians, and they are continually putting forced constructions on things, of which it is difficult to explain to them the real nature. Thus the promulgation of the Imperial decree (*lit.* silken sounds) devolves on the members of the great Council, but the barbarians respect them as being the autograph reply of your Majesty ; and were they given to understand positively that (the decrees) are not in the handwriting of your Majesty at all, (so far from respecting them), there would, on the contrary, be nothing in which their confidence would be secure.

"The meal which the barbarians eat together they call *ta-tsan* (dinner).* It is a practice they delight in, to assemble a number of people at a great entertainment, at which they eat and drink together. When your slave has conferred honour upon (has given a dinner to) the barbarians at the Bogue or Macao, their chiefs and leaders have come together, to the number of from ten to twenty or thirty ; and when, in process of time, your slave has chanced to go to barbarian residences* or barbarian ships, they have, in their turn, seated themselves round in attendance upon him, striving who should be foremost in offering him meat and drink. To gain their good-will, he could not do otherwise than share their cup and spoon.

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* The word used by our Canton servants for dinner ; the great meal.

"Another point : It is the wont of the barbarians to make much of their women. Whenever their visitor is a person of distinction, the wife is sure to come out and receive him. In the case of the American barbarian Parker, and the French barbarian Lagréné, for instance, both of these have brought their foreign wives with them ; and when your slave has gone to the barbarian residences on business, their foreign women have suddenly appeared and saluted him. Your slave was confounded† and ill at ease ; while they, on the contrary, were greatly delighted at the honour done them. The truth is, as this shows, that it is not possible to regulate the customs of the Western states by the ceremonial of China ; and to break out in rebuke, while it would do nothing toward their enlightenment (*lit.* to cleave their dulness), might chance to give rise to suspicion and ill-feeling.

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* The word *lan*, loft or story, is not that applied to the dwelling-houses of Chinese. The mandarins use it specially when speaking to their own people of our houses.

† Confounded, almost awe-stricken, as Confucius is described to have been in the presence of his ruler.

"Again, ever since amicable relations with them commenced, the different barbarians have been received on something of a footing of equality. One such interview is no longer a novelty; it becomes more than ever a duty to keep them off, and to shut them out. To this end, on every occasion that a treaty has been negotiated with a barbarian State, your slave has directed Hwang Aw-tung, Commissioner of Finance, to desire its envoy to take notice, that a high officer in China, administering foreign affairs, is never at liberty to give or receive anything on his private account. That, as to presents, he would be obliged peremptorily to decline them; were they to be accepted, and the fact concealed, the ordinances of the Celestial dynasty on the subject are very stringent; and to say nothing of the injury he would inflict on the dignity of his office, it would be hard (for the offender) to escape the penalty of the law. The barbarian envoys have had the sense to attend to this; but in their interviews with him, they have sometimes offered your slave foreign wines, perfumery, and other like matters, of very small value. Their intention being more or less good, he could not well have rejected them altogether, and to their face; but he has confined himself to bestowing on them snuff-bottles, purses, and such things as are carried on the person, thereby putting in evidence the Chinese principle of giving much, although but little has been received.* Again, on the application of the Italians, English, Americans, and French, your slave has presented them with a copy of his insignificant portrait.

"To come to their government.† Though every State has one, there are rulers, male or female, holding office permanently for the time being. With the English barbarians, for instance, the ruler is a female, and with the French and Americans, a male. The English and French ruler reigns for life; the American is elected by his countrymen, and is changed once in four years, and when he retires from his throne he takes rank with the people (the non-official classes).

"Their official designations are also different in the case of each nation. To represent these, they for the most part appropriate (*lit.* filch) Chinese characters, boastfully affecting a style to which they have no claim, and assuming the airs of a great power. That they should conceive that they thereby do honour to their rulers, is no concern of ours; while, if the forms observed towards the dependencies (of China) were to be prescribed as the rule in their case, they would certainly not consent, as they neither accept the Chinese computation‡ of time, nor receive your Majesty's patent (of royalty), to fall back to the rank of Cochin-China or Lewchew. And with people so uncivilised as they are, blindly unintelligent in styles and modes of address, a tenacity in forms of official correspondence, such as would duly place the superior above and the inferior below, would be the cause of a fierce altercation (*lit.* a rising of the tongue and a blistering of the lips): the only course, in that case, would be to affect to be deaf to it (*lit.* to be as though the earlap stopped the ear); personal intercourse would then become impossible; and not only this, but an incompatibility of relations would immediately follow, of anything but advantage certainly to the essential question of conciliation.* Instead, therefore, of a contest about unsubstantial names, which can produce no tangible result, (it has been held) better to disregard these minor details, in order to the success of an important policy.

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* Thus, according to the second of the Confucian books, should it be between the ruler and the nobles dependent on him.

† *Lit.* Their sovereign seniors.

‡ *Lit.* The first and last moons of the year, as computed by China,

"Such are the expedients and modifications which, after close attention to the barbarian affairs, a calculation of the exigencies of the period, and a careful estimate of the merits of the question, as being trivial or of importance, admitting of delay or demanding despatch, it has been found unavoidable to adopt. Your slave has not ventured to intrude them one by one upon the sacred intelligence, partly be-

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who issues her calendar to Corea, if not to her other dependencies The sovereigns of Corea, Lewchew, and Cochin-China, are invested by a Chinese envoy, and receive a patent from their Emperor as their Suzerain.

* As in note ‡, p. 360.

cause they were of themselves of small significance, partly because there was no time* (so to report them). The barbarian business being now on the whole (*lit.* in the rough) concluded, as in duty bound, he states them detailedly, one and all, in this supplementary despatch, which he respectfully presents to your Majesty."

"*Reply in the Vermilion Pencil.*

"It was the only proper arrangement to have made. We understand the whole question."

While Hwashana was reading this production, his attention was more particularly directed to those passages which discuss so elaborately the various descriptions of "stratagem" which Keying was in the habit of resorting to, in order "to keep the barbarians in hand."

So long as this controller of barbarians was associated with the Commission, it was evident that it would be incumbent upon us to watch narrowly which mode of treatment he was applying; whether "a direction was being given to us without explanation of the reason why;" or whether "our restlessness was being neutralised by demonstration which disarmed our suspicions;" or whether this was one of those occasions in which we were "to be pleased and moved to gratitude by concession of intercourse on a footing of equality;" or whether the crisis was so eminent that our "falsity was to be blinded, and the estimate of our facts not pressed too far." Whatever be the mode of treatment, he does not for a moment leave us in doubt as to its object. "Once such an intercourse (on a footing of equality) is established, it becomes more than ever a duty to keep them off, and to shut them out." Nor was his chuckle upon our gullibility with reference to the Imperial autograph lost upon us.

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* He had to act at once.

Hwashana and Kweiliang looked somewhat abashed when they had concluded this dissertation upon the "blindly unintelligent" race of barbarians with whom they were at that moment negotiating; and Keying requested to be allowed to see the paper, for the quiet perusal of which he retired into a corner. Meantime our envoys informed the Imperial Commissioners, that the best way of establishing confidence in Lord Elgin's mind, with reference to their good faith, was to send in at once the letter containing the propositions originally agreed upon, as the base of negotiations. They further stated their intention of waiting in the yamun until it was signed and sealed, which they accordingly did; and it was not until 10 P.M. that they finally took leave, with the precious document, signed by Kweiliang, Hwashana, and Keying, in their possession. It was doubtless in allusion to this communication that Keying states, in the Memorial to the Emperor containing his defence, that when, after consultation with Kweiliang and Hwashana, it was agreed that a despatch should be written, "they wept together beneath the window;

they knew not in the morning that they should not die by night."

Two days after this it was, that, finding himself discredited by us before his colleagues, to whom he was personally obnoxious, and who would gladly avail themselves of the weapon we had placed in their hands, and perceiving that it was impossible to pursue the obstructive and independent policy he was expected to adopt, Keying determined suddenly to return to Pekin, prefacing the step with a Memorial to the Emperor, stating only that he had "propositions of importance to submit." Before he reached the capital, however, he received an order to return to his post. Instead of obeying this command, he, to use the words of the Emperor, "could not take himself out of the way fast enough." This was the head and front of Keying's offence. Thus conscience made a coward of him. Had the Emperor read Shakespeare, he probably would not have asked, in passing sentence on him: "Had Keying any conscience, would the sweat have flowed down his back or not?" But so it happened, that, instead of bearing the ills he had, the unhappy mandarin fled to others that he knew not of.

Rumours were shortly after rife at Tientsin, first of the degradation, and then of the death of Keying; but the first authentic intimation we received of the severity of the punishment which was awarded him, was from the following extract from the *Pekin Gazette*, which reached us on the third of July, or about three days prior to our leaving Tientsin.

Not previously aware of the circumstances under which he had been appointed to meet us, or supplied with every link in the chain of events detailed in the foregoing pages, we were much shocked at the tragical end of one who had so recently been amongst us, and whose conduct, though weak and vacillating, scarcely seemed to deserve death by suicide. Nor, indeed, in so far as we are acquainted with the whole of his offending, does there seem any proportion between the guilt and the punishment. How little could we imagine that the objection taken to Keying as an Imperial Commissioner should even indirectly have been the cause of that fatal decree, the last sentence of which contains so painful a satire upon justice and mercy; for certain officers, having desired Keying to read the decree, are commanded to inform him "that it is our will that he put an end to himself; that our extreme desire to be at once just and gracious be made manifest." In a country where the highest attributes of divinity find such a manifestation, it is no very violent presumption to suppose that the fate of Keying was determined upon when he was first ordered to proceed to Tientsin, and that whatever his conduct there might have been, it would always have furnished the excuse desired by his enemies of causing his public execution, a sentence which the Emperor hypocritically modified by that parody upon leniency contained in the last clause, which commutes the public execution to private suicide.

"*Autograph Decree.*

"On receipt of a memorial by the Prince of Hwui* and others, praying that Keying's offence should be followed by instant punishment as under martial law, We commanded that he should be brought to the capital and subjected to a rigorous examination. When put on his trial he tendered his statement in defence, and We then directed the Prince of Kung† and others to decide and award with equity. They now find that, in not awaiting Our commands, Keying acted with stupidity and precipitancy, and they sentence him to be strangled after imprisonment until the Imperial Assize,‡ when his crime is to be entered among those not to be forgiven. Their award, certainly, is none other than a correct one. Still, as the terms in which they describe his transgression by no means define the criminality of his heart,§ it is incumbent on Us to give full publicity [to the facts].

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* Mien Yü, brother of the late Emperor Mien Ning, the style of whose reign was Táu Kwang.

† Yih Su, brother of the reigning Emperor, who was associated with Yih Tsung, another brother, and the adopted son of the Emperor's uncle, in the trial.

‡ A list of criminal cases is submitted once a-year to the Emperor. The prisoners whose names are without a certain mark made upon it by the Emperor escape with life; those within the mark die. The term here rendered Imperial Assize is applied to this re-hearing of cases tried in the capital; cases heard in the provinces are revised at the Autumnal Assize.

§ *Lit.* Are certainly not a description of it that cuts the heart open: a classical expression elsewhere paraphrased as the offence of "deceiving the sovereign, and so causing damage to the state's interest;"

"When Keying, being at the time an officer in disgrace, was again lifted up to be employed, it was Our hope that he would exert himself to make a reputation in his declining years, and would competently perform the service needed in the matter [then before Us]. When he had his audience to take leave, his words were: 'The powers of your slave are scarcely equal to his charge, but he will see what his fortune is;'—language that betokened neither numbness of conscience* nor failing intelligence. On the 27th of the 4th moon (8th June), a letter from the Council† followed him to Tientsin, by which he was instructed that he need not associate himself with Kweiliang and his colleague, nor be bound by forms in any way;‡ to the end that he might follow up any step of theirs by the measures his own policy might require. It cannot be said that the position We gave him was other than independent, or that Our gracious support of him was short of considerable. When Kweiliang and his colleague moved Us to recall him, We assumed that he must be aware of

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treason, in short. One Chinese understands it, "their finding does not show him guilty of the treason he has committed."

* *Lit.* Dimness.

† These letters are what we call Imperial Decrees. They are drawn up under instruction of the Emperor, and transmitted through the Council to those whom they concern.

‡ *Lit.* Not to grasp the mud, stand on ceremony. Properly, as junior he would have subscribed to the proposals of the senior commissioners, but he was authorised, "as exponent of his own policy, to take the second step"—the other Commissioners having taken the first.

this. Still, lest he might be somewhat*—a letter was sent from the Council instructing him to remain at Tientsin, and take counsel for himself. Had Keying had any conscience, would the sweat have flowed down his back or not?† That officer, however, having despatched‡ a memorial to Us, takes on himself to return to the capital; his plea being that he has propositions of importance to submit to Us. If so, why did he not address Us a confidential memorial in his single name? He adds that there is matter that cannot well appear in writing. Then why, when he [subsequently] received the decree to the effect that it was Our pleasure he should stay at Tientsin, did he hurriedly prepare another memorial? And what is there after all, of moment, either in his memorials or in his defence? In all the irrelevancy which time after time he has obtruded upon Us, his sole calculation is [the safety of] his own head. The total absence of available suggestions in the memorials and defence of this officer, again, might be held, had he not been deep in the secret, to be over-harshly visited by the law. But it is known that the measure he names had been long since considered by Us with Our servants. Besides, what might have come from another with propriety could not with propriety come from Keying. Why so? Because he was art and part of* the administration [of this question], and was free to carry out any views of his own. How was it then that, unprovided with measures suppeditative or remedial while acting with others, he was only ready with the right suggestion after the event?

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* There is an omission here of two characters, if not more.

† This is a classical expression, the parentage of which obliges it to indicate, not, as we should have supposed, great exertion, but the sense of shame experienced when our little merits receive bounteous consideration.

‡ *Lit.* having adored, prostrated himself before, the memorial about to be sent.

"Had We but punished this officer as he humbly prayed We would, We had indeed fallen into [the snare of] his machinations. For [in that prayer] Keying has plainly declared himself. Not only [does he imply that] his former offence had been completely washed away, but he seeks to lay blame on others; an intention yet more to his disgrace.† He had fancied that, for unauthorisedly relinquishing his commission, dismissal from the service would be all the penalty awarded him, and, this end attained, he would have enjoyed himself at home. With the obligation laid upon him by long recognition of his little merit (*lit.* dullness, *sc.* his employment in spite of it) should such a conception have been tolerable to him? Nor is this all, when his thoughts are unravelled.* When, after consultation with Kweiliang and Hwashana, it was agreed that a despatch† should be written 'they wept together beneath the window;‡ they knew not in the morning that they should not die by night.' But We do not learn that, in devout obedience to Our will as earlier expressed, he then devised any worthier expedient of his own.§ By-and-by he observed to Hwashana that he feared his departure from Tientsin might disturb the population, and he would therefore pretend that he was moving thence for a while on business. But, though on arriving at Tung-chau he received the later letter of the Council [desiring him to return], We do not learn that he hastened back [to his post; on the contrary] he could not take himself out of the way fast enough. He treated Our commands as a thing of course to be dispensed with.‖ Full of intrigue, bent on deceit, could a hundred voices excuse him from immediate annihilation? ¶

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* *Lit.* In the game, in the plot, on the committee. He flies from Tientsin, on the plea that he has an important suggestion to make which he dare not write; yet he writes, and his suggestion proves of no value; nor is it a novel one, as he well knew. This suggestion, say all Chinese expositors consulted, was war, which it must be inferred he was at liberty to resort to.

† *Lit.* Still less can his heart be inquired of. Man should be so that, "when he inquires of his heart, he finds nothing to be ashamed of."

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* *Lit.* [When we follow] the track, or footprints, of his heart.

† Despatch, or communication, probably one addressed to Lord Elgin two days before Keying disappeared from Tientsin.

‡ A common phrase applied to men consulting or studying together. It does not appear whether the Emperor learned this from Keying's despatches or elsewhere.

§ *Lit.* Separately or distinctly, that is, from his colleagues.

‖ *Lit.* As a cap-hair; the tuft of hair formerly thrown away when the cap of manhood was assumed; a thing to be rejected, and rejected of course.

¶ An expression that would include his family in the act of destruction.

"The [sentence proposed in the] original memorial of the Prince of Hwui and his colleagues was, nevertheless, too severe ; neither was the memorial of [the Censor] Suhshun, again, proposing his immediate execution, as it should be. Our object in handing him over to Our servants in the capital* for trial, was to have the circumstances of so grave an offence duly weighed by them, and a sentence deliberately pronounced, for the edification of all. If We were still to have approved his summary execution, what need was there for bringing him to the capital ? What need, to go farther, for [the formality of] a finding and sentence ? Then the remark [in one memorial], that 'if left for some months he might die a natural death, and so escape with his head'—is even more out of order.† Such words belong to sentences passed on malefactors (*lit.* robbers). They could not without serious impropriety be applied to Keying.

"We have bestowed great attention [upon his case] for several days, seeking to spare his life ; but indeed it is impossible ; and were We to reserve him, as Yih Su and his colleagues ‡ propose, for the Great Assize, then certainly to suffer, We feel that [when the time came] We could not endure to leave him in the market-place.* In this dilemma, having given all Our thought to a due appreciation of the facts and a just apportionment of the law, We command Jinshau, senior *tsung-ching*, and Mien Hiun, senior *tsung-jin*, of the Imperial Clan Court† with Linkwei, President of the Board of Punishments, to go at once to the Empty House of the Clan Court, and having desired Keying to read [this] Our autograph decree, to inform him that it is Our will that he put an end to himself; that Our extreme desire to be at once just and gracious be made manifest. Respect this!"

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* That is to say, by the chief members of the administration.

† *Lit.* Then the remark—is a finding [in cases between which and the present there is] even less analogy. It could not wantonly, or at random, be applied to Keying. Colloquially, it would never do, &c.

‡ Yih Su, see note †, p. 370.

We were informed upon good authority, before leaving Tientsin, that the punishment here awarded had been actually carried out, Keying having drunk a cup of poison in the presence of the Imperial officers nominated to enforce it. Thus perished by his own hand this celebrated mandarin, whose signature, attached to the Treaty of Nankin, exactly fifteen years before, had secured for him a political notoriety in Europe greater than had ever previously been accorded to a Chinaman, and the tragical termination of whose career must ever invest his name with a yet more significant and touching interest.

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* Like a common criminal.

† The *tsung-jin-fu*, or Imperial Clan Court, is an office charged specially with the registration, payment, and jurisdiction of the Imperial Family in all its branches. The Empty House mentioned just below is the prison of this establishment.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INSOLENCE OF THE MOB—A FORCIBLE ENTRY INTO TIENTSIN—MAKING REPRISALS—HOSTILE CROWDS—PEACEFUL PROCLAMATIONS—PLAN OF THE CITY OF TIENTSIN—ASPECT OF THE CITY—THE TRAFFIC IN THE STREETS—DECLINING TRADE OF TIENTSIN—NOTICE CONCERNING THE GRAIN SUPPLY—PRESENT STATE OF THE GRAND CANAL—OFFICIAL EXPENDITURE OF GRAIN—COLLECTION OF THE GRAIN-TRIBUTE—STATE OF THE YELLOW RIVER—OBSTRUCTIONS IN ITS NAVIGATION—GRAIN TRANSPORT BY SEA—REPORT ON THE GRAND CANAL—PRICE OF RICE AT TIENTSIN—TABLE SHOWING PROCEEDS OF GRAIN-TAX—TRADE OF TIENTSIN—SQUALOR OF THE INHABITANTS—BURIAL-PLACES—TOTAL ALLIED FORCE AT TIENTSIN—EXPLORATION OF THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY—THE HARVEST AT TIENTSIN—KITCHEN-GARDENS—SALT-PANS—VETCH-FIELDS—LOCUST-HUNTING.

OUR suspicions of the hostile character of Keying's interference, alluded to in the last chapter, had received a somewhat singular confirmation in the altered demeanour manifested by the inhabitants within two or three days after his arrival. Up to that time nothing could exceed the respectful bearing of all classes with whom we had come in contact, in the course of our rides and walks through the city and suburbs. Upon the very day, however, of the visit of Messrs Wade and Lay to the Commissioners' yamun, just described, the Admiral, accompanied by two or three naval officers, was pelted and hooted at by the populace while walking in one of the suburbs. This was a course of proceeding on their part altogether unexpected ; and our astonishment was increased on the following afternoon by the sudden appearance in our yamun of Captains Dew and Saumarez in a state of some excitement, the former hatless, and grasping a large stick, the battered condition of which gave evidence of some recent violent rencontre. It appeared that, while walking quietly inside the city, near one of the gates, they were pelted and hooted, and ultimately attacked by the mob, who, however, entertained too great a respect for barbarian prowess to press them very close, and they escaped with only the loss of a favourite dog of Captain Dew's, and the hat of that gallant officer. Immediately on the receipt of this news, a message was sent to Major Boyle commanding the marines, who were barracked only a hundred yards distant. As it was already late in the day, and no time was to be lost, that officer at once put himself at the head of a strong party of marines, and, accompanied by half-a-dozen blue-jackets of the Furious, and some of us as amateurs, proceeded, under the guidance of Captain Dew, towards that part of the city where the outrage was said to have occurred.

As, however, we had upwards of half a mile of suburb to traverse before reaching the nearest city-gate, timely notice of our approach was received by the gate-keepers, from scouts who ran on to warn them; and in spite of our utmost endeavours to reach the gate before it was shut, we found, upon our arrival before it, that it was firmly barricaded against us, and on looking through the chinks in the massive panelling, could discern a large crowd collected in the deep archway which passed under the wall at this point, some fifteen or twenty yards in breadth. We insisted upon a Chinaman ordering them to open the gate, who obeyed our commands in this wise:—"Look out!" he cried; "here are a whole lot of barbarians wanting to get in! They have pressed me; I have nothing to do with it. Open the gate! open the gate! open the gate!" The first part of the sentence, intended only for his Chinese audience, was overheard by Mr Lay; the latter part, intended for us, was shouted with the utmost vehemence.

Seeing that the people were determined not to admit us, and that it was hopeless to attempt to force the gate, I accompanied Captains Osborn and Dew in search of an available part of the wall for scaling. Some low houses were built against a crumbling angle at a likely place, and scrambling on to the overhanging eaves, we were soon digging our fingers and toes into the crevices formed by the disintegration of the unburnt brick of which the wall was composed. In a moment more we were joined by three or four blue-jackets with muskets, and, running along the wall, jumped down into the street, and astonished the unsuspecting crowd in the archway, as we took them in rear with a loud yell. They doubtless supposed that the whole British army was at our backs, for they tumbled about in all directions in their haste to escape, assisted by the application of a little judicious pressure upon sundry parts of their persons, as they scampered away. Dew, seizing a hatchet from one of them, instantly cut through the bar of the gate, and in another moment the whole of the marines walked quietly in,—the city having thus been stormed and taken in five minutes, without any more serious wound having been given or received than that which may be inflicted with the toe of a boot.

We marched tranquilly up the main street, then down to the South Gate, which Dew at first supposed to be the one at which he had been insulted. Finding out our mistake, however, we marched along the whole length of one face of the city, a distance of about a mile, upon the top of the wall, to the West Gate—a most striking procession to the admiring crowds, who were collected in astonishment to watch us make such free use of their mural defences, considered the most sacred part of a Chinese city. Immediately on arriving at the West Gate, Captain Dew's hat was presented to him; and we informed the mob that, in consequence of the impropriety of their behaviour in that particular locality, it would be necessary to make prisoners of six respectable householders, as it was impossible to recognise the individual offenders. Thus the better class would come to see the necessity of treating foreigners civilly. So we laid hands on the captain of the Tartar Guard at the gate, and a few apparently well-to-do shopkeepers, and marched them solemnly off between two files of marines; Mr Lay pointing the moral of the proceeding by making the Chinese as we passed say, "It is very wrong to insult an Englishman; I will never insult an Englishman." Any man who showed any reluctance to repeat this formula was at once brought forward, and compelled, in a distinct and grave voice, to give utterance to a variety of sentiments expressive of his regard and consideration for the English. The prisoners were only kept in confinement one night, and on the following morning were released, well satisfied with the treatment they had received, and full of promises to use their utmost influence to prevent a recurrence of a similar incident. Captain Dew's dog, a handsome retriever, swam off to the Cormorant, on board which ship his master was staying, during the night.

We were assured, in different quarters, that the behaviour of the people was due to the instructions they had received from their mandarins, and that these instructions had only been issued subsequently to Keying's arrival. We had the greater reason to believe this assertion, as, in consequence of the representations made to the Commissioners, no further annoyance of the sort was experienced, except upon the day following, and probably before any instructions upon the matter had been widely circulated, when Cameron and I were walking alone in a distant suburb, and were pelted by some of the younger part of the population, and surrounded by a hostile-looking crowd, who commenced hooting. Upon our turning round and facing them, with an appealing look to the most respectable individuals in the crowd, these latter restrained the more ardent spirits ; and as we walked away, we could hear the voices of the advocates for and against insult in high altercation. After this, we could walk and ride to considerable distances with perfect impunity, though ever since our first arrival we had deemed it unwise to go about unarmed.

The appearance, a few days after this, of 120 marines and two guns from the fleet, who were marched with all possible military display to their quarters, did much to give effect to our remonstrances, and increased the civility of the people. Our force, until the arrival of this body and the engineers, had been very small, in consequence of most of the blue-jackets having been sent back to the fleet immediately upon our becoming installed in our quarters at Tientsin. Now, however, proclamations were posted up all over the city and suburbs, stating that foreigners were always to be attended by (Chinese) soldiers to preserve them from insult, and that persons insulting them would be severely punished. A news-room was discovered in the city, where placards containing the latest barbarian intelligence were posted up. Among other pieces of news, the public were informed that we had been induced to parade the town a few days previously in consequence of the auspiciousness of the day. We had certainly proved, upon that occasion, that, with even the comparatively small force now at our disposal, we might consider any day auspicious to take and occupy a city, the defences of which were so feeble and the garrison so weak and timorous.

The authorities were, moreover, extremely desirous of showing their sincerity, by inflicting summary punishment upon any Chinaman against whom complaints were made. One cheerful-looking man used to appear daily at the gate of the yamun, and seat himself there with a cangue, or piece of board about three feet square, locked round his neck. The Chinese put their criminals' heads, instead of their legs, into the stocks, and the culprit is compelled to wear this cumbersome necklace for a given number of weeks, or sometimes months. Upon one occasion a man was brought into the yamun for smuggling samshu to the marines, and the petty official charged with ministering to our comforts, to show his zeal, instantly commenced slapping him violently with the open hand upon the back, as though impelled by an amiable desire to assist him in coughing up a fish-bone.

The city of Tientsin occupies the angle formed by the junction of the Grand Canal and river Peiho. It is built as nearly as possible in the form of a square, each face being, according to a rough estimate, a mile in length. Four massive gateways give entrance to the four roads, which approach from the cardinal points of the compass. These roads, on entering the town, become the principal streets, and intersect it at right angles. At the point of intersection, in the centre of the town, is a pagoda-shaped building, supported upon four archways, which span the streets. From this point all four gates are visible. These streets differ entirely from those of a southern town. In the latter, two sedan-chairs meeting scarcely find room to scrape past each other; while at Tientsin wheeled vehicles traverse the streets, which are in places paved with large flagstones, the foot-passengers being provided with a *trottoir*.

Nor was Tientsin superior to southern towns in the breadth of its streets alone. The visitor could pursue his exploratory investigations without having his nostrils assailed at every turn by the indescribably foul odours of the south; for although the city and suburbs were by no means free from stenches, they existed but in a modified form. There was nothing, however, to tempt one to frequent its uninviting purlieus. The few shops that interested foreigners were in the suburbs; the shops and houses in the city containing the commonest articles of Chinese necessity, and the exterior was as mean as their interior was ill supplied. They were generally built of unburnt brick, sometimes of mud, often consisting of two very low stories, the ground floor open to the street.

Some fantastically-carved wooden arches, which spanned one of the streets, were the only ornaments of which the town could boast. The temples were poor in an architectural point of view, and the divinities they contained more than ordinarily shabby: the best was in the suburb. Two or three yamuns indicated the residences of the civic dignitaries. There was an absence of that life and bustle in the streets which usually characterise a Chinese town; this may have been partially owing to the panic created by our presence. Indeed, people were actually leaving the town, and many of the shops were shut from this cause; and in the suburbs this proof of their uncertainty with regard to our intentions was more general. They evidently did not wish to tempt our cupidity by the display of their wealth. Whether this wealth existed or not remained a matter of speculation. Most certainly the general impression created upon our minds was, that for a town which, with its suburbs, is said to contain half a million of inhabitants, Tientsin was the most squalid, impoverished-looking place we had ever been in.

The principal traffic in the streets seemed to be that of fuel and water. The fuel consisted of millet or wheat straw, carried on men's shoulders; the water was conveyed in the quaintly-constructed wheel-barrows already described: occasionally might be seen a man sitting upon one side of the wheel, to balance the two buckets of water poised upon the other. The water-way to the edge of the river was paved with flagstones, cut down through the steep bank, the cutting being bridged over for the convenience of people passing along the river brink. As seen from the water, the groups of water-carriers, with their barrows and variously-shaped buckets, emerging from these subterranean avenues, or collected at their mouth, presented one of the few picturesque sights which greeted the eye of the traveller, if he had not become too much disgusted with the monotony around him to appreciate anything.

Such was the internal aspect of the city of Tientsin. Its defences consisted of the rickety walls above mentioned, which had crumbled away so much in places that it remained a mere shell. It was said, that upon this wall were mounted eighty guns, being twenty to each face ; but even if that number was not exaggerated, they existed more in name than in reality. Instead of being mounted on carriages, they were, for the most part, imbedded in baskets of sand, and so corroded and decayed that the gunners would be in infinitely greater danger than the enemy. The gates are all surmounted by buildings which serve as barracks, of two stories, with pagoda roofs.

Upon the first occasion of our visiting the city, two or three days after our arrival at Tientsin, some slight reluctance to admit us was exhibited by the gate-keepers ; but after our forcible entry, our visits were regarded as a matter of course.

I was informed by an old merchant of Tientsin, and his statement was corroborated by the present aspect of the place, that it had been decaying both in opulence and population since the overflowing of the Yellow River had broken down the banks of the Grand Canal, and the exigencies of the rebellion had swallowed up the funds which would otherwise have been devoted to the repair of that great work. Produce of various descriptions, arriving from almost every province in China, formerly found its way by tributary canals into the main artery; much of the wealth of the Empire thus flowed past Tientsin, which now reaches the capital by other channels of internal communication, or has ceased altogether. But the principal use of the Grand Canal was for the transport of the annual grain-supply. According to Sir George Staunton, a thousand grain-junks were passed by Lord Macartney's mission between Tientsin and Toongchow. It will be seen from the following interesting notice, compiled by Mr Wade from various authentic Chinese sources, what, according to the most recent accounts, is the present state of the Imperial Canal, and under what conditions the grain-transport has been carried on in consequence:—

"It is now several months since rumours reached us of the terror produced in the districts adjoining the lower part of the Yellow River, by its disappearance from its ancient bed.* It seems beyond doubt established that, from a point which must be about as high up as Kai-fung Fu, this violent stream has forced a new, or, according to Chinese historians, has resumed an old channel, in a north-easterly direction, and now makes its way into the Gulf of Pechelee by superadding its waters to those of the Ta-tsing and other rivers of Shan-tung. Much of the intermediate country is described by a recent traveller as more lake than land, and the great artery of Northern China, the Grand Canal, clogged in some places and expanded out of all symmetry in others, lies useless for any of the greater purposes of trade or supply for which it was originally intended. From the statement of the crew of a Yang-chau junk, which had forced her way up to Tientsin early in 1857, the bed of the Yellow River had been filled with water from the canal reservoir by Hwai-ngan Fu to the depth of three feet, to enable vessels to cross. The junk in question drew but two feet. She found in many places up the canal but four inches water, and the greatest depth at any point did not exceed four feet. We have since learned that the bed of the Yellow River, if temporarily filled, as stated, at the point in question, is now at all events perfectly dry.

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* See *North-China Herald*, Nos. 336, 3d January 1857; 359, 13th June 1857; 407, 15th May 1858; 411, 12th June 1858.

"It is difficult to say from what depths of exigency the industry of China may not recover itself; but it is almost beyond a doubt that, for the present, the operation of one of her greatest works is in abeyance, and the north of her empire is consequently beholden for its commerce, and to a large extent for its subsistence, to the coast trade, which it has been the policy of the Government, as regards the most important article of Chinese life, to restrict in favour of its inland traffic. The wants of Northern China naturally attract our attention at a moment when the ports of that region have been opened to a certain extent to our commerce, and the following particulars of what we are wont to describe as the Grain Tribute of China, and of the past and present methods of its transmission, may not be uninteresting.

"The code of the Board of Revenue of 1831, the latest edition, we believe, in print, showed that, exclusive of 13,340 tons for which a constant commutation tax, amounting to 246,570 taels, was levied at various rates in five of the contributing provinces, the whole Grain Tribute annually forwarded in kind used to be collected in the following proportions :—

Rice, ...	210,000	tons.
White rice for the Court's use, .	44,000	,,
Wheat, . . .	4,000	,,
Pulse, ...	17,000	,,

"The wheat and pulse were grown in Chih-li itself, in Shan-tung and in Honan ; the black pulse in Manchuria. The wheat is stated to be the only sort destined for human consumption, but this is by no means certain.

"The subjoined table, drawn up from the same authority, declares the proportions in which, under ordinary circumstances, the producing districts would contribute. The wretched state of the canal communications and the rebellion, which, besides interrupting both the collection and transmission of the grain-supply, has, for many years, absorbed the funds otherwise applicable to the repairs of the canal and river, are causes which materially affect the original conditions of this branch of revenue. We will speak of it first as it was.

"The official expenditure of grain, in 1811, was some 113,000 tons, without reckoning the Court's own demand; and, according to the Revenue Statistics of 1831, already quoted, there should always have been in store, at Pekin, 354,000 tons of rice, and at Tung-chau, twelve miles off, 82,000 tons. None of this should be allowed to be unsold or unexpended longer than three years.

"The shipment of the grain was effected at forty-four major and nineteen minor stations in the eight provinces of—

Chih-li.
Shan-tung.
Kiang-su.
Ngan-hwui.
Kiang-si.
Cheh-kiang.
Hunan.
Hu-peh.

"These, with all details of the establishment charged with its carriage and escort, are under a superintendent, with the title of Governor-General, whose headquarters are at Hwai-ngan Fu. He has under him a force on a quasi-military footing, the total strength of which is about 64,000 men. The grain-junks used to leave the points of collection in fleets, departing at different periods, so as to avoid confusion—each vessel bearing 300 piculs on Government account. The escort, known as *kiting*, carried a certain amount on private account, and were indeed rewarded for bringing in from 100 to 200 piculs in excess of the Government cargo. Each junk was allowed a sum for her expenses, ranging in amount from 160 to 200 taels.

"The collection of the Grain Tribute was supposed to commence on the 1st of the 10th moon, say in November, and all grain, no matter where collected, to be weighed and shipped for the Canal two months later. The junks from the districts north of the Yang-tsz' in the neighbourhood of the Canal, by law should cross the Yellow River at Hwai-ngan Fu in the 12th moon, January or February; those from other parts of Kiang-su and Ngan-hwui, a month later; and those from Kiang-si, Cheh-kiang, Hu-peh, and Hunan, a month later than the last. After they are across, the law still allows them three months to ascend the Canal to Tientsin, there to tranship their cargoes for Tung-chau, whence the chief part of them would be carried in carts to Pekin.

"The line of canal-communication between the Yang-tsz' and the Yellow River has but two approaches officially recognised as available for the transmission of the Grain Tribute: one, the Kwa-chau mouth of the Canal, opposite Chin-kiang Fu; the other at I-ching, a few miles higher up the stream. Punctuality has not been more remarkable in this than in any other branch of Chinese revenue, but the grand derangement of all calculations respecting the transmission of grain has ever been the capricious disposition of the Yellow River. The 20th term of the Chinese year, known as the "frost's descent," has always been watched with anxiety, and freedom from inundation during this period entitled the spirit of the stream to a special sacrifice in token of the Emperor's gratitude. A glance at the map will show, that from the points of its intersection by the Yellow River the Canal takes a north-westerly direction, running for a considerable distance nearly parallel to the course of its turbulent neighbour. As it quits the border of Kiang-su it becomes principally beholden for its supply to various sheets of water, part lake, part reservoir, which, unless we misunderstand the *Pekin Gazette*, are of a construction precariously primitive. Vast earth-works are thrown up, and into the space they enclose, water is worked from the adjacent streams, to the very great peril, as the *Gazette* admits, of the mud *enceinte*, which would be utterly destroyed were the body within it all water. To mitigate this danger, and at the same time to preserve the water-level necessary to the supply of the Canal, the vast tanks are three-fourths filled with mud.

"In 1851 a more than usually violent outbreak of the Yellow River swept away all the works of earth and masonry in the section of river-works known as the Fung-peh, in the north corner of Kiang-su. In August 1852, the upward-bound grain-fleet was obliged to land its cargo in Shan-tung, some eighty miles below Tsi-ning, to a point, in which department all the grain had to be carried by land for reshipment to Pekin. The Emperor was shortly moved by various memorialists to consider some new means of supplying the capital with grain, the Canal, it was urged, having become impracticable by mismanagement.

"Early in 1853 a censor recommends the transport of grain by sea. He puts the total consumption of the capital at four million piculs of superior, and two and a half million piculs of inferior descriptions of grain; say, 430,000 tons. The provinces heretofore relied upon were all disturbed by rebels; but in Fuh-kien and Cheh-kiang, which were quiet, a sale of rank might be opened, and grain bought by the local government with the proceeds. The Formosa market was also spoken of. By the end of the year 333 junks of grain from the south had reached the Gulf of Pechelee.

"In the spring of 1854 the capital was in sore distress. The rebels were on the borders of Tientsin, and Cheh-kiang was the only one of the supplying provinces not in disorder: even there floods had done damage. The Emperor was accordingly prayed to give a general invitation to merchants to import grain from all parts. The river communication between Pekin and Tientsin had also been injured by inundation. Still, by the close of the year the grain-receipts at Tung-chau amounted to 1,424,946 piculs, nearly 100,000 tons. This is described as grain of 1853. It is classed under eight different denominations, and its carriage up from Tientsin, it is observable, employed 3892 river-junks from the 7th June to the 3d August.

"A decree of January 1855 shows that the rendezvous of the junks bringing grain from Kiang-su or Cheh-kiang was the port of Liu-ho, a small customs station on the Yang-tsz', at no great distance from Shanghai. The Emperor is in great want of rice, and lays an embargo right and left on flat-bottomed vessels along the whole coast, from the Gulf of Liau-tung down to Ningpo. Cheh-kiang furnished no less than 60,000 tons this year; but this appears all that Pekin received.

"In May 1856 the Governor of Cheh-kiang, in a somewhat self-complacent memorial, reports the shipment of about 60,000 tons in 721 junks, divided into six fleets. 'It is now four years,' he says, 'since the sea-transport was commenced on the recommendation of his predecessor, and the subsidy is increasing annually.' By the 5th of July, 1200 junks had discharged 100,000 tons at Tientsin and returned south. Some 6000 tons were still due. The insurrection being now to all appearance about to limit itself to the southern provinces, the Canal was surveyed in the hope of again making it navigable for the grain-fleet. The report is long, and, from the use of certain technicalities, somewhat difficult of translation. The fact, however, is established that, owing to a series of inundations from 1851 to 1855, the artificial channels had sustained almost irreparable damage. The Weishan Hu, a principal reservoir, which should have in it fourteen feet of water, had but from two to eight feet; in many places mud banks stood out like islands, and along its whole western verge was a dry tract of varying width. A proposition to introduce more water and more deposit was rejected, as calculated to jeopardise the frail enclosure of the Hu. The year closes with disastrous notices. In Pekin rice was from nine to ten dollars a picul; the crop short in Kiang-su and Cheh-kiang, which were also suffering from locusts. There were locusts in Chih-li as well.

"In 1857 the authorities of the Two Kwangs are called on to find rice for the Court. Some of the Kiang-su quota is detained for war supplies. That the abandonment of the Canal transport is in contemplation, may be inferred from a proposal made by the Board of Revenue, to dispose of the junks formerly employed upon the Canal, many of which we know to be rotting at Hang-chau and elsewhere. The Board also remarks, by the way, that an equivalent to their former tax in grain is now levied in coin on Hu-peh, Hunan, Kiang-si, and Ngan-hwui;

another indication of the Court's acceptance of the sea-transport as something more than a temporary measure. The authorities of Manchuria reported the shipment in June of some 3000 tons of grain, which they describe as rice. It was probably wheat.

"Supposing the censor's estimate, tendered in 1853, to be approximately correct, it follows that, in the last six years, the supply of the best grain has only twice equalled a third, and did not last year amount to a tenth, of the Pekin demand. The supply of this year remains to be ascertained; but when the mission were at Tientsin, rice was selling at from five to six dollars a picul, and the resources of the province were threatened by locusts, which continued to arrive by myriads. These were sold dried as food, at forty cash a catty. They did not seem in such request, nevertheless, as to cause future speculators in 'grain-stuffs' any serious apprehension."

TABLE SHOWING THE PROCEEDS OF THE GRAIN-TAX OF CHINA, AS RETURNED IN 1831.

	Chih-li.	Shang-tung.	Honan.	Ngan-hwui.	Kiang-su.	Cheh-kiang.	Kiang-si.	Hu-peh.	Hunan.	TOTALS.
	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.
Rice, for Pekin,…………	57,000	83,295	8,969	288,239	1,038,111	621,466	351,394	94,622	95,529	…
,, surplus,…………	…	19,159	2,047	63,400	228,382	136,708	77,286	20,812	21,010	…
,, for Tung-chau,……	…	42,914	9,192	102,075	94,852	29,353	151,614	…	…	…
,, surplus,…………	…	7,310	1,564	14,280	13,270	4,981	25,772	…	…	…
,, for the Court,……	…	…	…	…	69,025	29,975	…	…	…	…
,, surplus,…………	…	…	…	…	20,700	13,482	…	…	…	…
Total Rice,……	57,000	152,678	21,772	467,994	1,464,340	835,965	606,066	115,434	116,539	3,837,788
Wheat, for Pekin,……..	…	9,915	24,652	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
,, surplus,………	…	2,280	6,660	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
,, for Tung-chau,…	…	9,391	12,766	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
,, surplus,………	…	1,581	2,159	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
Total Wheat,..	…	23,167	46,237	…	…	…	…	…	…	69,404
Pulse, for Pekin,……….	…	82,114	67,189	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
,, surplus,………..	…	18,880	15,430	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
,, for Tung-chau,…..	…	31,082	27,857	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
,, surplus,………..	…	5,270	4,726	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
Total Pulse,….	…	137,346	115,202	…	…	…	…	…	…	252,548
Total Grain,…	57,000	313,191	183,211	467,994	1,464,340	835,965	606,066	115,434	116,539	4,159,740
Commutation—										
In Silver Taels,……	…	12,000	12,000	4,332	74,543	…	…	22,764	3,647	…
At different rates,..	…	40,000	40,000	17,829	…	…	…	…	…	…
	…	…	…	21,635	…	…	…	…	…	…
	…	52,000	52,000	43,796	74,543	…	…	22,764	3,647	…

The high price of rice at Tientsin was doubtless due to our occupation of the river, and the presence of our ships in the Gulf. It had always been one of Lord Elgin's principal objects, in hurrying north at an early period of the year, to reach the mouth of the Peiho in time to intercept the fleet of grain-junks. That we should have been successful in carrying out this design, had not other circumstances intervened to prevent it, may be gathered from the fact that upwards of nine hundred grain-junks were calculated actually to have passed within sight of the Furious on their way into the river, not counting those which sought the northern entrance in order to avoid our fleet. Thus, though Tientsin had lost in some respects in commercial importance, it was still, in a political point of view, the most favourable position for exerting a tremendous moral pressure on the capital. Every day was affording additional evidence of this, and the result proved it conclusively.

To return, however, to the statistics of Tientsin, it was extremely difficult to obtain any information on the subject. The only respectable Chinese merchant whom I had an opportunity of cross-examining on the matter, was either very loth to impart his knowledge, or had no knowledge to impart. The theme upon which he dwelt most feelingly was the excessive poverty of the city of his abode. It exported absolutely nothing, he averred. Its only productions were salt, from the pans near it and the sea, and grain of various descriptions, but not more than sufficed for home consumption. Among its imports from the south are dried fruits, sugar, glass ware, camlets, woollens, opium, &c., in small quantities. Numerous cargoes of beans and bean-cakes are brought over from Neu-chwang and the Manchurian coast. There can be little doubt that we shall find a considerable market in the north of China for our cotton and woollen manufactures. I observed in the bazaar some Manchester calicoes, also English or German glass ware, cutlery, lucifer matches, &c.

In contemplating the population of Tientsin with a practically commercial eye, the problem is not whether they want clothes, but whether they have money enough to buy them. Appearances certainly fully bore out the Chinese merchant's assertion as to the poverty of the town. In no part of the world have I ever witnessed a more squalid, diseased population than that which seemed rather to infest than inhabit the suburbs of the city. Filth, nakedness, and itch, were their prevailing characteristics. The banks of the river swarmed with men who lived entirely on the garbage and offal that were flung from the ships, or were swept up by the tide from the city. There was an eddy just in front of our yamun, in which dead cats, &c., used to gyrate, and into which stark naked figures were constantly plunging, in search of some delicate morsel. Their clothing generally consisted of a piece of mat or tattered sacking, which they wore, not round their waist, but thrown negligently over their shoulders,—it was difficult to divine for what purpose, as decency was ignored, and in the month of June warmth was not a desideratum. Cutaneous diseases of the most loathsome character met the eye in the course of the shortest walk; and objects so frightful that their vitality seemed a mockery of existence, shocked the coarsest sensibilities.

Upon several occasions I saw life ebbing from some wretched sufferer as he lay at his post of mendicancy. One old woman, in particular, attracted my attention. She used to lie motionless on a mat in the centre of the road, a diseased skeleton. She had just strength enough to clutch at cash that was flung to her. One day this strength seemed to have failed: I looked closer, and saw she was dead. A few hours after, I repassed; but her place knew her no more: she had been carried away and cast upon a dung-heap. I was riding on the outskirts of the city one day, and saw a man carrying another on his back. At first I thought the burden was a corpse; but as I approached nearer, a certain flexibility of the legs, as they trailed in the dust behind, undeceived me. This was one of the city scavengers who prowl the streets for dying beggars, and when they find one in whom life is almost extinct, they bear him off to some suburban Aceldama, and fling him from their shoulders, a premature feast for crows and vultures. Certainly if the imagination of the Chinaman who named this city Tientsin, "heavenly spot," could form no higher idea of an abode of bliss, it is difficult to conceive what must have been his notion of the opposite extreme.

As if in ironical allusion to the misery which the living seemed to endure, almost the only pretty spots near Tientsin were the burial-places. They were nearly the only localities honoured with trees, and consisted generally of a square with an area of about a quarter of an acre, enclosed by a mud bank and ditch, so as to present exactly the appearance of a small earthwork or *tabia*. Each member of a family who reposes within this enclosure is placed beneath a conical mound of earth, about the size and shape of a bell-tent. A thick grove of trees, generally willow and cypress, surrounds the cemetery, and gives a cool and refreshing aspect to the place. One of these burial-places was of so great an extent, and contained so many graves, that in our ignorance we avoided it for some days, feeling certain it was an intrenched camp, as we had heard of the existence of one in the neighbourhood. The absence of the usual trees confirmed the suspicion, until we mustered up courage to visit it one day, and found only a decrepit custodian, rapidly going to join those whose remains he was now guarding. The real camp we discovered a few days after, from the summit of a species of martello tower, to the top of which we climbed for purposes of inspection.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the entire population of Tientsin and its neighbourhood are invalids or beggars. There was a large class of respectable *bourgoisie;* and the country people, though poor, looked cheerful and industrious, as they worked in large gangs in the fields. The fair sex was almost invisible. It was by the rarest accident that a glimpse was caught of a woman, not belonging to the lowest class. Even these latter all cramped their feet—a practice not so general among the same class in the south. Some of the little girls we saw were pretty; and, with their heads decorated with bright flowers, and their gaudy skirts fluttering in the wind, they looked piquant and graceful. But, as a rule, the women generally seen were hideous.

Ere very long we had explored the environs of Tientsin in every direction. Our yamun was situated on a peninsula, formed by a deep bend of the river, which doubled back so as almost to convert it into an island. Upon one side of us, the mud houses of the suburb were built against the yamun wall, but to the left and rear were gardens, scattered houses, and waste land. The engineers occupied a temple within musket-shot, and next door to them, "Caserne Française," painted in large white letters, indicated the quarters of the "Marine Française." Just previous to our departure, there was an allied force of nearly six hundred men quartered in different buildings upon this little peninsula, which was capable of being rendered defensible, if necessary, by an earthwork thrown across the narrow isthmus, so that we were fortunate both in respect to the accommodation and *locale* of our position.

Passing the isthmus, and riding parallel to the Grand Canal, we soon reach a bridge of boats, by which the Pekin road crosses to the city; turning sharp to the right, we follow this road, so interesting to us while we thought it possible we might have to traverse it. It soon emerges from the suburb, and crossing two canals, tributary to the Peiho, by substantial bridges, one of which is ornamented with a handsome balustrade of carved marble, reaches the Wenho, or salt river, a little above its junction with the Peiho. It is conveyed across this important stream by a bridge of boats, and traversing the peninsula formed by the two, follows the right bank of the Peiho for as many miles as our explorations extended.

The farthest point I reached on horseback was the large village of Petsang, about seven miles from Tientsin by the road, and lately become interesting as the point at which Mr Ward and his suite struck the Peiho on their way to the capital, from which, according to report, it was not above forty-five miles distant in a straight line. The country through which we passed presented all the appearance of being subject to annual inundations; deep ditches intersected it in various directions, for the purpose of carrying off the water; and the Pekin road was raised fifteen or twenty feet above its level, the small country roads which crossed it being all bridged over. The high-road was paved in places, and about twenty feet in breadth. The villages, which dotted the landscape in every direction, were also built upon raised mounds, which completed their resemblance to the mud towns of Egypt.

During the first portion of our stay at Tientsin, the flat country extending between the Grand Canal and the Peiho was one vast field of ripening wheat, far as eye could reach; and, uninterrupted by fence or enclosure, the yellow corn rose and fell to the breeze in gently rolling waves ; while, dotted over its surface, the masts and sails of numerous junks were visible, looking as though they traversed a golden sea. These were navigating the minor canals. Only once, on an unusually clear day, could I distinguish in the dim distance the irregular outline of some far-off hills. Winding through this fertile plain, the courses of the Grand Canal and the Peiho were marked by the groves of trees which adorn their banks, and surround ancestral graves. Some of the villages also rejoiced in clumps of trees, but generally they looked like brown patches, stuck upon a green ground.

Ere we left Tientsin, the aspect of the country was entirely changed, for the harvest was over. Most of the corn was cut with the sickle, but I observed that grain of certain descriptions was plucked out by the roots ; then it was collected into thrashing-grounds, to be tramped out by oxen, and winnowed upon breezy days, when carts, concealed by mountains of straw, and drawn by mixed teams of horses, mules, and oxen, creaked heavily over the soft land, and gleaners scattered themselves far and wide through the fields, and the whole population was out in the bright sunshine, looking cheerful and happy, as they gathered in the blessed fruits of their labour and toil. In the mellow hour of evening, when the whole western sky was a blaze of red, and the scene was bathed in the glowing reflection of its fiery tints, it was pleasant to ride among the reapers of Tientsin, and forget, in the picture of content and plenty before us, the objects we had just witnessed of misery and starvation.

Although the country round Tientsin was a dead level, it was not destitute of variety. If the Pekin road led through nothing but a cornfield, that which followed the banks of the Grand Canal in a southerly direction conducted you for miles between kitchen-gardens, so exquisitely tended that, in this respect at all events, the environs of Tientsin are a pattern to those of London. Fences of the neatest and most tasteful construction enclosed little areas of ground, irrigated by a network of minute canals, divided into beds, devoid of weed or pebble. Greens of every description, gourds, egg-plants, leeks and onions, sweet potatoes, beans and peas, were planted out and manured, or trained, as the case might be, with the utmost care. Interspersed with the kitchen-gardens were vineyards, orchards, and fruit-gardens, containing apricots, apples, and pears, of a coarse description, and vines, trained on trellises, as in the north of Italy. This was one of the pleasantest rides, as it was for the most part shaded by trees, and the windings of the canal, with the river-life upon it, added to its picturesque interest. It was an immense relief, in all our rural rambles, not to be stifled at every turn with the filthy contrivances of the south. In this respect the horticulture and agriculture of the north are carried on under much pleasanter conditions. Our explorations in a westerly direction were uninteresting; the country was an immense graveyard—not a collection of private cemeteries, such as I have described upon the banks of the Peiho and Grand Canal, but a plain crowded with conical tumuli, destitute of grass or trees, and extensive enough to have contained the whole defunct population of Tientsin, since the original founding of that "heavenly spot."

There is only one more direction in which I will ask the reader to accompany me, if he be not already as tired of the environs of Tientsin as we were. A very considerable suburb, connected with the city by a bridge of boats, was situated upon the opposite side of the Peiho. Passing through it, we debouch upon a singular piece of landscape.

Here were salt-pans, with the salt stacked in large tumuli like gigantic graves. Interspersed with them were small tumuli, which really were graves: and there were deep pits, and ponds of water with narrow ridges between them, and more salt stacked in bags, and roofed in with millet straw; and huge stacks of wheat straw collected for purposes of fuel; and mud huts, like Irish cabins of the meanest description, enclosed by fences of millet straw, which is thick and strong enough for the purpose: and there were brick-kilns which looked like circular forts, and a circular fort which looked like a brick-kiln. Altogether, it was the oddest collection of big mounds and little mounds, and heaps and stacks, and pits, and stagnant ponds, and hovels, and forts and brick-kilns, and fences, and waste land, I ever saw. A high-road led through it, and into a close, populous village beyond, and out of that into the illimitable steppe. There was no waving corn here: a weakly vetch and unhealthy-looking young plants of Indian corn were struggling to maintain a miserable existence, in a soil so thin and friable that the united efforts of two men and a donkey, or two donkeys, were sufficient to drag a plough through it. It seemed to be of quite another character from that on the right bank of the river. Beyond the vetch-fields the steppe produced nothing but a short dry grass, across which we could scamper in every direction, with the chance of putting up a hare and riding after him across the country. It reminded me of some parts of the steppes of Southern Russia. Sometimes the monotony of this scene was unbroken by a living object; sometimes a cloud of dust would betoken the approach of country carts, and a succession of huge creaking vehicles would roll past, loaded with fuel, and drawn by a mixed team. I have counted a horse, a pony, a mule, a donkey, and two oxen, in one cart. An ox and the horse served as wheelers; in front of them were the other ox, the mule, and the pony, while the donkey led the way in solitary dignity.

Towards the end of the month of June, fortunately just after the crops were taken in, a swarm of locusts invaded the country. You could gallop through miles of them in this plain, as they whizzed and fluttered among the horses' legs; you could steam through acres of them as you traversed the river, and eat bushels of them fried, if so it pleased you, as they were hawked about in baskets by urchins in the streets. Locust-hunting was a favourite and profitable occupation among the juvenile part of the community. I had the curiosity to eat one, and thought it not unlike a periwinkle.

CHAPTER XIX.

ADVANTAGES GAINED BY RUSSIA AND AMERICA—A SERIOUS "HITCH"—THE TWO IMPORTANT DEMANDS—THE RIGHT OF A RESIDENT MINISTER—THE CHINESE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT: MODE OF INFLUENCING IT—PRINCIPLE OF DIRECT COMMUNICATION—THE CONCESSION GAINED—THE FINAL PROCESSION—SIGNING OF THE TREATY—AN EFFECTIVE ILLUMINATION—A RETROSPECT—THE NEW PORTS—THE TRANSIT-DUES—CLIMATE OF TIENTSIN—ABSENCE OF SURVEYS—GEOGRAPHY OF THE COUNTRY—ABUNDANCE OF ICE—A SKITTLE ALLEY—CURIOSITY-HUNTING.

MEANTIME the work of negotiation was progressing with the neutrals, whose task was less surrounded with difficulties than that of the quasi-belligerents, more rapidly than with ourselves.

On the 14th of June, Count Poutiatine signed his treaty, in which the chief concessions gained were, the right of correspondence upon an equal footing between the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister or First Minister of the Council of State at Pekin; permission to send diplomatic agents to that city upon special occasions; liberty of circulation throughout the Empire of missionaries only, under a system of passports; and the right to trade at ports at present open, and, in addition, at

Swatow, at a port in Formosa, and another in Hainan.

Four days afterwards, the American treaty was signed by Mr Reed, in which the same privilege of special missions to Pekin was accorded to the Government of the United States, and the same additional ports opened to its trade.

These were by no means trifling concessions, and, eked out by "the most favoured nation clause," were a great advance on the privileges formerly enjoyed by Russia and the United States in China. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that they were willingly granted by the Chinese Government. Much more moderate demands, when preferred the year before by the Ministers of Russia and the United States respectively, had been peremptorily refused. Indeed, both Count Poutiatine and Mr Reed, upon concluding these treaties, expressed, in the most frank and candid manner, the conviction they entertained, that the concessions they had gained had been due to the pressure exercised, at this juncture, upon the Imperial Cabinet by the allied Governments of France and England.

By the end of the week, after several pretty stormy discussions between the Commissioners and Mr Bruce and Messrs Wade and Lay, who were acting on behalf of Lord Elgin, a general agreement had been arrived at as to the terms of the British Treaty. It had been resolved that the clauses should be drawn up forthwith in English and Chinese, and the evening of the 26th had been fixed for the signature.

An incident, however, occurred on the evening of the 25th, which threatened to lead to very serious embarrassments. Among the clauses in the British treaty, which were not included in the other treaties, there were two which were most pertinaciously resisted by the Chinese Commissioners. The one provided that the British Minister in China should be entitled to reside permanently at Pekin, or to visit it occasionally at the option of the British Government; and the other, that British subjects should have the right of travelling to all parts of the Empire of China for trading purposes. Having failed in their endeavours to induce Lord Elgin to recede from these demands, the Commissioners had recourse to the Plenipotentiaries of the other powers then at Tientsin, and begged their intervention in conveying to Lord Elgin the important piece of intelligence, that on the previous day an Imperial decree had been received from Pekin, to the effect, that not merely degradation, but decapitation, would be inflicted upon Kweiliang and Hwashana if they conceded these two points.

Whether or not any such decree had actually been received was problematical; but the appeal *ad misericordiam* was difficult to resist, more particularly as it was made just at the moment that the first rumours of Keying's death reached us. As the French Plenipotentiary had not included in his treaty the specific demands now objected to, it would have been unreasonable to suppose that he would consent to enforce them by hostile measures. The circumstances of the case were obviously in the highest degree critical. To give way was perhaps to imperil all that was most valuable in the proposed Treaty; for the Commissioners, emboldened by success, would in all probability have proceeded to call in question other clauses, such as that for the settlement of the transit dues, which were peculiar to the English treaty, in the hope of indefinitely protracting negotiations. To persevere in the face of the representations which had been made, was to run the risk of isolation, perhaps of a hostile advance on Pekin, unaccompanied by allies. Nevertheless, Lord Elgin, after full consideration, resolved to adhere to his original demands; and upon the morning of the 26th he authorised Mr Bruce to communicate his determination to the Commissioners in peremptory terms, believing that language of a decided character would be the best protection to the Commissioners against the Imperial wrath, which, it was alleged, their acquiescence in his demands would provoke.

It is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon the motives which induced the Ambassador to exhibit so much persistence, in so far as the second of these demands is concerned. The commercial advantages which England must derive from the vast extension of her import and export trade consequent upon the "*exploitation*" of the interior of the Empire by her merchants, are too manifest to require elucidation. With reference to the other point, however—viz. the power of appointing a resident Minister at Pekin—as opinions are divided in England as to the expediency of taking advantage of this privilege, the concession of which cost the Imperial Government so sharp a pang, it is necessary to say a few words in explanation of the value which Lord Elgin attached to it.

Any person who has attentively observed the working of the anomalous and altogether unique system under which the vast Empire of China is governed, will have perceived, that though ruling under altogether different conditions, supported not by a physical force, but by a moral prestige unrivalled in power and extent, the Emperor of China can say with no less truth than Napoleon, "L'Empire c'est moi." Backed by no standing army worth the name, depending for the stability of his authority neither upon his military genius nor administrative capacity, he exercises a rule more absolute than any European despot, and is enabled to thrill with his touch the remotest provinces of the Empire, deriving his ability to do so from that instinct of cohesion and love of order by which his subjects are super-eminently characterised.

But while it happens that the wonderful endurance of a Chinaman will enable him to bear an amount of injustice from his Government which would revolutionise a Western state, it is no less true that the limit may be passed when a popular movement ensues, assuming at times an almost constitutional character. When any *emeute* of this description takes place, as directed against a local official, the

Imperial Government invariably espouses the popular cause, and the individual, whose guilt is inferred from the existence of disturbance, is at once degraded. Thus a certain sympathy or tacit understanding seems to exist between the Emperor and his subjects as to how far each may push their prerogative ; and so long as neither exceed these limits, to use their own expression, "the wheels of the chariot of Imperial Government revolve smoothly on their axles." So it happens that disturbances of greater or less import are constantly occurring in various parts of the country. Sometimes they assume the most formidable dimensions, and spread like a running fire over the Empire ; but if they are not founded on a real grievance, they are not supported by popular sympathy, and gradually die out, the smouldering embers kept alive perhaps, for some time, by the exertions of the more lawless part of the community. But the last spark ultimately expires, and its blackened trace is in a few years utterly effaced.

The late rebellion is in this waning stage. Nor did the Imperial Government trust so much to its armies as to the inert mass of public opinion which had not yet decided in its favour. So long as the capital is not threatened, and the lives of "the powers that are" there are not in absolute danger, they contemplate with comparative calmness the vicissitudes through which remote cities and provinces pass, contented to wait until the agitation shall have subsided, and then resume the old despotic sway, as though nothing had happened. It affects their repose but slightly at the capital whether rebel or foreigner occupy some distant city. The patriotism of the loyal part of the population is evoked by Imperial decree ; whether the people obediently respond, and are successful, or whether they are unsuccessful, or whether they disobediently refuse, is a matter which seems but little to disturb the philosophers at Pekin. Either the Imperial authority exists absolutely, or it has been entirely extinguished. In the latter case, unprovided with adequate physical means to restore it, the Emperor is forced into a fatalistic view of the subject.

A better illustration of the truth of the important principles above laid down could not be afforded than in the case of Canton. The instructions furnished by the Emperor to Yeh furnish unmistakable evidence of the inefficacy of protracted diplomacy at a distance to influence the policy of the Imperial Government in its treatment of foreigners ; while, so far from the capture of Canton—which was the result of his acting in accordance with those instructions — humbling the Court of Pekin, as it was prophesied at Hong-Kong would be the case, the hauteur and obstinacy of the Imperial Government were increased by this event. The Prime Minister declined to communicate direct with Lord Elgin according to treaty, and refused to send commissioners to meet him at Shanghai. At a later period, when we were dallying in the Gulf, orders were sent down to Canton calling out the Braves, who immediately responded to them, and attacked the city. Shortly after the signing of the Treaty, counter-orders were despatched disbanding them, and commanding them to remain at peace with foreigners, and these were also ultimately obeyed. The popular impression among the British heretofore had been, that the Canton question was purely local, and that authorities and Braves were alike acting independently of orders from Pekin.

But if these incidents went to show how impossible it was to influence the Court of Pekin by coercion applied at remote parts of the Empire, still more hopeless was it to effect this object by diplomacy exercised at a distance from the seat of government. Yeh's stubbornness and Keying's shuffling alike proved that a provincial governor, charged with the conduct of foreign affairs, was approved of at Court only so long as he could show that he was thwarting the barbarians, whether by obstinacy or craft. To bring conviction to the mind of a functionary so situated was of little avail, because it only made him an object of suspicion to his Imperial master. Lord Elgin's observation had therefore led him to the conclusion, that it was necessary to be at the heart to affect the extremities, and that it was impossible to affect the heart through the extremities. Conceiving this to be the knot of the situation, he determined to establish the principle of direct communication between the British Ambassador and the

Imperial Ministers at the capital, and to secure, at all events, the right of the former to a permanent residence at Pekin. It would rest with the Government whether to exercise the right or not, attended as it doubtless was with many objections of a practical character,—such as difficulties of access, severity of climate, absence of accommodation in the first instance, and almost absolute isolation. But whatever point might ultimately be fixed upon for the residence of the Minister, the fact that he had a right to be at Pekin would be a source of influence in his hands, scarcely less powerful than that which he might acquire by his actual presence there, and the dread of his exercising that right operate as a check not less effectual than if it was already in existence. It would still be *through* the heart, although not absolutely at it, that the extremities would be affected. It will be seen from Lord Elgin's despatch from Shanghai of the 5th November, which I have placed in the Appendix, upon what grounds he was ultimately induced to recommend non-residence at Pekin.

The decided tone held by Mr Bruce having convinced the Commissioners of the hopelessness of further resistance upon these points, it was arranged that the Treaty should be signed at the hour originally named. As it was deemed best that as much *eclat* as possible should be given to so important an event, the whole strength of the military force accompanied Lord Elgin as a guard of honour ; while the Admiral and most of the officers of the squadron also attended, a number of them having arrived from the ships in the Gulf for the purpose of being present.

The procession was one calculated to inspire the inhabitants of Tientsin with some respect. The military guard of 400 men, preceded by the band; the long array of chairs, and the body of spectators on foot, in full uniform, extending over a distance of nearly half a mile. The ships in the river were dressed out, and the crews manned the yards as the procession filed along the bank, which was lined with crowds of wondering Chinese.

In consequence of the heat of the weather, the hour fixed for the ceremony was somewhat late, and it was nearly dark before we had traversed the winding streets of the suburb, and crossed the plain in which the "Temple of the Oceanic Influences" was situated. We were received in the same hall which had been the scene of the former conference, but it was arranged in a more business-like manner. Instead of the long table covered with refreshments, three small square tables occupied the centre of the apartment. At the middle one of these Lord Elgin took his seat, flanked by a Commissioner on either side. The Admiral, together with some of the naval officers and members of the Mission, were seated at other tables, and the remaining space was densely crowded with European and Chinese spectators. Three large paper-lanterns lighted the business-tables, upon which the various copies of the Treaty were soon spread out, and the process of signing and sealing commenced, the interest of the ceremony being sufficient to retain in silence the miscellaneous throng who were watching it.

Thus expired, on its fifteenth birthday, the treaty negotiated by Sir Henry Pottinger in 1843 ; for, by a curious coincidence, the day of the signing of the Treaty of Tientsin was the anniversary of the day upon which the Treaty of Nankin was ratified.

After the treaty was signed, tea and refreshments were handed round, though the Commissioners had scarcely provided for the reception of so many visitors. The Chinese attendants on the Commissioners remained closely grouped round their chiefs; while the exploratory propensities of British naval officers, and the reckless enterprise with which the more juvenile portion of them attacked every species of unwholesome dish that was placed in their way, rendered it desirable, for their own sakes, not to prolong the ceremony unnecessarily. It was nevertheless quite dark before the procession started on its return to the yamun. As we passed along the brink of the river, the crews of both French and English ships sent up long and hearty cheers ; and Admiral Rigault's band welcomed us with the National Anthem.

On the following evening, when Baron Gros signed his treaty, there was an improvement in the programme ; for, as the long procession of blue-coated and white-gaitered French marines were filing along the river's bank, the darkness was suddenly dispelled by the blaze of blue-lights, and the Chinese crowd found itself unexpectedly brought out in strong relief beneath their vivid glare; and with ears deafened with the shouts of hundreds of barbarian throats, and eyes dazzled by the unearthly brilliancy which illuminated the scene, they gazed in amazement on each other and their own muddy river, and wondered, perhaps, whether the treaties, the signing of which was being thus vividly impressed upon their memory, would work as great a transformation in the Empire as the process of obtaining them had effected in their own city.

On entering our yamun, Lord Elgin received the congratulations of Baron Gros; and indeed it is scarcely possible to describe the feeling of satisfaction we experienced on this most successful termination to the doubts and anxieties of the past year. It wanted but a few days of the anniversary of our first arrival in the Celestial Empire; and although much doubtless remained to be done before we could hope to turn our faces homewards, our future labours would be of a far more pleasing character than those which had just been concluded. Up to this point we had met with a series of disappointments; now we were sanguine enough to hope that an era of success was about to commence.

We could bear tranquilly to review the history of the events of the past year. We could recall the effect produced by the first staggering intelligence we received at Galle of the Indian mutinies, and the consequent diversion at Singapore of all our thoughts and energies from China to Bengal, and remember how our three weeks' stay there was devoted to the annihilation of all our hopes and plans, while Lord Elgin was solely employed in divesting himself of all his means for carrying out the objects of his mission. We thought of the time when it seemed so hopeless that these were ever to be achieved—that we went to India in sheer despair—and learned for our consolation, that though the China force had saved Bengal, the China mission had lost all claim to public interest in presence of the appalling events occurring in this quarter ; we recollected with horror the dismal months we spent in the harbour of Hong-Kong, living on board a Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer during the hottest and stormiest season of the year, uncertain whether a force was ever coming to relieve us from our inaction.

There were other and more recent periods which afforded us very little satisfaction to look back upon, and when our anxieties were felt the more keenly because it seemed likely that the prize was to be snatched from us when it was within our very grasp ; but we could afford to laugh now at these reminiscences, and the adverse influences which seemed to have beset our path from the commencement, only served to enhance the pleasure of success. Hostilities with the Empire of China had terminated with a loss to the

British arms of about twenty men killed in action (since our first arrival in the Empire), and a treaty had been signed far more extensive in its scope, and more subversive of Imperial prejudices, than that concluded fifteen years before, after a bloody and expensive war, which had been protracted over a period of two years. The reflection that we should probably be compelled to return to the south without visiting Pekin, would indeed force itself painfully upon us; but for the moment satisfaction predominated, and we endeavoured to keep gloomy thoughts out of view.

As the result, then, of the process applied to the Imperial Government, we had obtained, first, the two points of a resident Minister at Pekin, and permission to travel and trade in all parts of the Empire already referred to. Next, besides Teng-chow in the province of Shantung, and the ports opened in the islands of Hainan and Formosa by the other treaties, we opened New-chwang in Manchouria. The political importance of this latter port will be evident from a glance at the map, in which will be seen that it is the nearest seaport to the Soongary river, a tributary to the Amour, and navigable for steamers as far as Petuné; it is also the port of Moukhden, the Imperial capital of Manchouria. In addition to these ports we opened Chin-kiang, and secured the ports on the river Yang-tse-Kiang between that point and Hankow, a celebrated mercantile emporium in the heart of the Empire. A condition was attached to this concession, declaring that it was not to come into effect until the rebels were expelled from its shores.

Lastly—and this, perhaps, in a commercial point of view, was the most important clause of the Treaty—the much-vexed question of transit-dues was finally set at rest. A few words are necessary in explanation of this clause. Some misapprehension has prevailed in England as to the nature of these duties, and they were for some time regarded as applied only to foreign produce passing into the interior, and to native produce intended for exportation. It is, however, universally understood and admitted in China, that the transit-dues are a tax in the form of an *octroi*, levied upon all produce indiscriminately which passes into the interior provinces of the Empire, or from one to another. Inasmuch, then, as it is one of the permanent sources of revenue to the Chinese Government, to demand the total abolition of these dues would have been a harsh and unjustifiable measure ; nor was it likely that the Imperial Government would have consented to a domestic change involving such an enormous sacrifice of revenue. On the other hand, the Treaty of Nankin left the question in so unsatisfactory a state, that it has ever since proved a permanent source of complaint to the British merchant. That Treaty simply provided that the transit-duty should not be increased beyond the then existing rates; but as those rates were never ascertained, this provision proved, in effect, of no avail, and two evil consequences followed from the position in which the matter was left. In the first place, a number of articles—and more especially the important article of tea—were subjected occasionally to very heavy imposts under the name of Tea-duties, whereby, in point of fact, the provisions of the tariff were in a great measure rendered nugatory. In the second place, the power of indefinite taxation, thus left to the Chinese Government, introduced an element of great uncertainty into mercantile transactions, both in exports and imports.

In the various suggestions and communications which, at Lord Elgin's invitation, had been given to him by different mercantile bodies in China, this difficulty had been repeatedly referred to, but none of them contained any plan for its removal. It was met in the British Treaty, negotiated at Tientsin, by an article, enabling the British merchant to purchase, at the rate of 2½ per cent *ad valorem* in the case of imports at the port of entry, and in the case of exports at the first inland barrier through which his commodities would pass, a certificate enabling him to carry his goods duty free, in the latter case, to the port of shipment, and in the former, to any place in the interior of China to which it may be destined.

In a separate clause the amount of indemnity claimed by us for losses sustained at Canton was stated at two millions of taels (about £650,000), and a further sum of two million taels was claimed in compensation for the expenses of the war.

The above were the most important points in which the British Treaty of Tientsin differed from the other treaties signed at the same place and time. The first great step having been thus achieved towards the placing of our relations with the Celestial Empire upon a new and more substantial basis than had hitherto subsisted, it only remained for Lord Elgin to await the Imperial assent to the treaty which had just been negotiated, ere he finally bade adieu to Tientsin. Our experience of this "heavenly spot" had now extended over a period of a month, and we were not sorry to think that it was soon to be brought to a termination. During the last few days the temperature had been rapidly increasing. At first we had hot days, but the nights were cool, and the thermometer sometimes showed a variety of 20° in the twenty-four hours; now, however, the nights were beginning to be oppressive, and the thermometer ranged from 90° to 96° in the coolest part of the yamun. I am indebted to our medical attendant, Dr Saunders, for the annexed register of the temperature during our stay at Tientsin. Although the thermometer showed so high a range, the heat was not accompanied by those debilitating effects which so often attend it in tropical latitudes. The air was dry and pure, and the general health of the squadron remained good. We had been threatened with a rainy season in June, but with the exception of one or two heavy showers, the weather continued fine throughout the month.

It was indeed much to be regretted that,—as, during the first portion of our occupation of the river and Gulf, the climate was so favourable to the health of the men,—nothing should have been accomplished in surveying the unknown mouths of the Peiho, and in exploring some of its tributaries. For a period of three months upwards of twenty men-of-war lay idle in the Gulf, and during a number of weeks our gunboats navigated the Peiho, yet we sailed away from those shores with our geographical knowledge as limited as when we first arrived there. Beyond pulling for about two miles up the Grand Canal, we know nothing more of the course or depth of water of that channel of communication than is furnished in the records of the former embassies. As far as we went, we found water enough for gunboats, the banks being in places built up with wheat-straw and matting. The course is very winding, as indeed in this place it is, properly speaking, not a canal but a river, into which the Grand Canal is led some miles above its junction with the Peiho. It is called by the Chinese the Grain-bearing River. About a mile higher up the Peiho, and debouching into it on the same side as the Grand Canal, is a smaller canal, which takes a southerly course across the wheat plain, and was reported to lead to Ho-kien and the Peh-hu lake, and so into the southern parts of the province of Shansee.

About half a mile beyond this canal the Peiho is entered by a river apparently exceeding it in size and volume, commonly known as the Yen-ho, or Great

Salt River. It is spanned by a bridge of boats at its point of junction; and to judge from the number and size of the junks with which the stream was crowded, must be an important channel of internal communication. Sir Frederick Nicolson pulled up it for a few hundred yards, and brought back a poor account of the depth of water; but I have ridden along its banks for some miles, and have seen junks navigating it whose draught of water must have equalled, if not exceeded, that of our smallest class of gunboats. The direction which this river takes renders it important that we should know its capabilities, as it reaches a point to the west of Pekin, as near to that city as the Peiho approaches it on the east.

The only channel of water-communication we observed to enter the Peiho on its left bank, was a small canal which debouched opposite the peninsula upon which our yamun was situated. As far as I followed this canal, it pursued a northerly direction across the barren-looking steppe which I have already described. Its course was marked, not so much by the usual line of trees, as by large isolated mud villages, which doubtless it supplied with the means of intercommunication. It was navigated by very small junks, a number of which were often fastened in a long string to each other, and punted along till they came to a sharp turn or other impediment, when they would break up like a raft. This canal, I strongly suspect, connected the Peiho with the stream usually known as its northern mouth, and which enters the Gulf about ten miles to the north of Takoo; but this is mere conjecture, as I could not obtain any reliable information on the subject. From the different accounts one received in answer to geographical inquiries, it was evident how reluctant the people were to impart knowledge of their country to the barbarian.

If the climate of Tientsin was latterly somewhat oppressive, we could at all events luxuriate freely in that most powerful alleviation to the discomfort of intense heat—ice. The whole population could revel in it if they chose. Boat-loads of it traversed the river—coolies staggered under the refreshing burden along the broiling streets—beggars stood at corners and sold it for infinitesimal sums, and other beggars came and bought it. Food of all sorts was abundant, and our requisitions in this respect were promptly attended to; though it must be confessed that, in respect of beef, they were sometimes a little unreasonable, as all the cattle are used in these parts for draught purposes only,—a fact which their well-shod hoofs undeniably attested. Coarse but not ill-flavoured apricots, and coarser peaches, with small marsh-melons and apples and pears, furnished us with dessert, and the sailors in the river with the maladies incidental to an indiscriminate use of fruit in a hot climate.

The courtyard of the yamun, roofed over with matting, always afforded us a cool and agreeable lounge. In its grateful shade we played quoits and established a skittle alley,—a game which had the merit of being, at all events, as aristocratic in the eyes of the Chinese as any other, and of giving us exercise when it was impossible to face the rays of the sun, even as it was sinking below the horizon. Unlike the sun of the tropics, merciful during the final hour of his existence, the sun at Tientsin darted fiery rays at you up to the last moment of the long summer day.

On Sundays this sheltered court was turned into a place of worship. The pulpit was on one of the raised platforms containing the Emperor's handwriting, the roof adorned with dragons and the mystic signs of Confucian philosophy. Army, navy, and diplomacy seated themselves in the quoit-ground and skittle-alley, grouped themselves round the majestic old tree which stood in the centre, or took up a position beneath a collection of gods and goddesses, who gazed as imperturbably at the scene on one side as a group of Chinese did on the other. It was a picturesque, but at the same time an impressive ceremony, none the less suggestive in its simplicity because brought into such close and striking contrast with the mixed emblems of an obscure metaphysical system on the one hand, and a debasing superstition on the other.

After we had signed the treaty, and a proclamation had been issued by the Commissioners informing the Chinese public that the foreigners now in the river might shortly be expected to evacuate it, the people began to regain their confidence ; new shops were opening daily in the suburbs, and curiosity-hunting commenced with that energy which seems to distinguish the "barbarian" of every "outside nation" when he visits the "Central Flowery Land." The great inconvenience attending this amusement at Tientsin was in the medium of circulation. We had brought with us a quantity of sycee silver, but the weighing out of a mass of particles of silver for each purchase was a tiresome and uncertain operation. Mexican dollars were taken, but not very freely, and then for much less than their value, while the only small change current was copper cash, of which a dollar's worth weighs from ten to fifteen lb. The simplest plan of dividing a dollar was to cut it in halves with a chopper, and re-divide them if you wanted to purchase a shilling's worth of anything ; but it was as inconvenient to carry a chopper in one's purse as ten pounds' weight of copper, or a pair of scales, which were the other alternatives. Moreover, there was very little worth buying, and I saw no good old china, enamel, bronzes, or any of those articles which form the staple of Chinese works of "virtu."

CHAPTER XX.

DUPLICITY OF THE COMMISSIONERS——ARRIVAL OF THE EMPEROR'S ASSENT—ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS—ABANDONMENT OF VISIT TO PEKIN—CONSEQUENCES OF DELAY—STATE OF MATTERS IN THE SOUTH—FINAL VISIT TO COMMISSIONERS—DEATH OF THE PRIME MINISTER, YU—HWASHANA'S POEMS—"OLD" CHANG: HIS POETICAL EFFUSIONS—DEPARTURE FROM TIENTSIN—THE GREAT WALL—STATE OF MATTERS IN THE SOUTH—APPOINTMENT OF FIVE COMMISSIONERS—MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF CANTON—LORD ELGIN'S DESPATCH TO THE GENERAL—DEPARTURE FOR JAPAN.

ALTHOUGH in the ordinary course of diplomatic routine it is considered unnecessary to procure, before ratification, the assent of the sovereign to a treaty negotiated between specially appointed plenipotentiaries, Lord Elgin decided upon adopting the course followed by Sir Henry Pottinger in the Treaty of Nankin, and obtaining the Imperial assent to the Treaty, the ratifications of which, it had been arranged, should be exchanged at Pekin within the period of a year from the date of its signature. His intention to this effect was expressed to the Commissioners, who, accordingly, four days after it was signed, forwarded to his Lordship a communication in which they stated that they had received an Imperial Autograph Rescript to the following effect:—"We have perused your Memorial and know all. Respect this." As the fact of the Emperor's cognisance of "all" did not by any means imply his assent to it, the Ambassador replied that he "was still awaiting his Majesty's approval to the conditions of the Treaty." In answer to which the Commissioners stated, that "as soon as we shall have in person presented the originals of the different nations' treaties, with the seals and signatures, to his Majesty at the capital, and received the ratification of them in the Imperial autograph, it shall be transmitted, with all speed, to Shanghai for the information of your Excellency."

Lord Elgin, in reply to the above communication, states "that he cannot consider peace to be re-established until he shall have been satisfied of the Emperor's entire acceptance of the conditions agreed to by the Commissioners as his Majesty's Plenipotentiaries. That the Undersigned is neither acting nor insisting upon more than is justified by the usage of the Empire, is shown by the decree of the late Emperor, a copy of which he has the honour to enclose. Within a few days of its arrival at Nankin, Sir H. Pottinger began to move his fleet down the Yang-tse-Kiang. The Undersigned is bound to require an assurance, similarly complete, of the purpose of his present Majesty to abide by the engagements entered into on his behalf. Without such an assurance the Undersigned cannot quit Tientsin, and delay in procuring it will leave him no other alternative but to order up to that city the large body of troops which has arrived from Hong-Kong, and is now lying in the Gulf of Pechelee."

This letter was followed up by a prompt requisition for barrack accommodation for the 59th Regiment, which had recently arrived in the Gulf in the troop-ship Adventure. It produced an immediate effect, the Commissioners replying the same day, and promising to procure the required assent, all difficulty on the subject being removed from their minds by the fact which had been brought to their notice of the existence of a precedent.

Accordingly, on the 4th of July, or only two days afterwards, a letter was received from the Commissioners, with the following enclosure:—"On the 23d day of the 5th moon of the 8th year of Hien Fung (3d July), the Great Council had the honour to receive the following Imperial decree:—

"Kweiliang and his colleagues have submitted for our perusal copies of the treaties of the different nations. These have been negotiated and sealed by Kweiliang and his colleague. As Kweiliang and his colleague now represent that the different nations are desirous of having our autograph acknowledgment as evidence of their validity, We (hereby signify) our assent to all the propositions in the English and French, and in the Russian and American treaties, as submitted to us in their previous Memorial by these ministers, and we command that the course pursued be in accordance therewith. Respect this."

With reference to this Imperial decree, Mr Wade states in his note on the above document, that "these Shang-yu Imperial decrees are never in autograph. They are prepared by the Council, and go forth as the will of the Emperor. It will be remembered with what ceremony Kweiliang produced that declaring the powers with which he and Hwashana were invested at their first conference with Lord Elgin." It will be observed that this decree, which was only forced out of the Emperor by Lord Elgin's pertinacity, was in general terms, and applied to the treaties made by the other Powers, as well as ourselves.

The 59th were actually on their way up the river in gunboats when this letter arrived. Their advance was at once countermanded, and they returned to Hong-Kong without ever having reached Tientsin, but not without having done good service.

It was indeed with feelings of the deepest regret and disappointment that, in consequence of the news which now arrived from Canton, Lord Elgin found himself compelled to give this order, and to abandon his original intention of visiting Pekin, in order to present to the Emperor the letter with which he had been accredited by Her Majesty. The very success which had attended our operations hitherto, and the facility with which they had been carried out, only furnished a more unmistakable proof of the ease with which we might have reached Pekin, had we been at Tientsin two months earlier, when Canton and its neighbourhood were still tranquil, when the Chinese were unprepared, and the climate was that of an English spring. The political importance of such an achievement it is impossible to over-estimate. The much-vexed question of the reception of a British Minister at the capital would have been set at rest for ever, and under peculiarly favourable conditions.

Now, unfortunately, everything combined to induce his Excellency to abandon the idea. A Tartar force had collected in the neighbourhood of the capital during the last two months, and although a visit to Pekin after the signature of the treaty of peace would not have had a hostile character, yet it would have been distasteful to the Emperor, and it must, in common prudence, have preceded the evacuation of Tientsin by the allied force. A state of affairs had, however, arisen in the south, that made it imperative that neither the naval nor military force should be detained in the north any longer than was absolutely necessary. Moreover, the sun was in its most fatal month, and a march of fifty miles would be attended with serious consequences; while the *eclat* and prestige of any such movement would have been very much neutralised by the dilatory nature of the negotiations, and the apparent vacillation at the outset.

Thus every one of those evil results, as arising out of the delay, which had been anticipated by Lord Elgin at Shanghai more than three months before, and to avoid which he felt justified in proceeding to the north without waiting for the Admiral, had been realised.*

On the 26th of May, Lord Elgin had received a communication from General Straubenzee, assuring him of the perfect tranquillity of Canton, and of his ability to spare a large share of his troops for operations in the north should they become necessary. In consequence of this assurance Lord Elgin did not hesitate, immediately on his arrival at Teintsin, to write to him requesting him to send up the force available for the purpose, and on the 30th of June these reached the Gulf. They brought with them, however, intelligence of a totally altered condition of affairs from that which had existed only a few weeks previously. Sufficient time had elapsed, since our first appearance in the Gulf, to enable the Chinese Government to instigate the Braves to attack Canton. Their assaults on the city, the expedition of our troops to the White Cloud Mountains, and the increased audacity of the Braves in consequence of the unsuccessful issue of this operation, was news which imparted to the state of matters at Canton a more serious aspect than they had yet worn. Although, from our previous acquaintance with both the foreign and Chinese community, we were aware that the panic which existed in the south was probably to a great extent groundless, still the representations generally made of the nature of the crisis were too urgent to be disregarded. From the effect they produced in England some idea may be formed of the sensation they were calculated to create at Tientsin.

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* THE EARL OF ELGIN TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

"SHANGHAI, *April* 3, 1858.

"MY LORD,—The Coromandel, tender to Rear-Admiral Sir Michael Seymour's flagship, has just arrived in this harbour, and reports that the Admiral did not intend to leave Hong-Kong before the 25th ult. He cannot, therefore, be expected here before the middle of this month. If I were to postpone my departure for the north until after the Admiral's arrival, I think, and I believe, that my opinion on this point is shared by the Plenipotentiaries of the other great Powers who are acting in concert with us in this quarter, that the interests of the public service would suffer, for the following reasons:—Firstly, Because the Chinese would impute the delay to vacillation and weakness; secondly, Because we should lose our hold on the rice-junks destined for Pekin, which are now proceeding towards the north, and may yet be arrested, if necessary, at the mouth of the Peiho; thirdly, Because, if the information I have received from Count Poutiatine on this head be correct, the season for operations in the region to which we are proceeding terminates with the end of the month of May. I have, therefore, taken it upon myself, in the absence of Admiral Seymour, to address to the senior officers at Shanghai and Hong-Kong letters, of which I herewith enclose copies, and which, I trust, will be approved by your Lordship."—*Blue-Book*, p. 258.

To keep troops in the north after the Treaty had received the Emperor's assent, and when it was reported that the British community at Hong-Kong were to be ruthlessly massacred, and the British garrison in Canton ignominiously expelled, for want of a sufficient military force to protect the one place, and retain the other, would be clearly unjustifiable; and Lord Elgin at once returned the whole force to General Straubenzee, in the earnest hope that they might arrive in time to enable him to restore confidence by administering to the Braves that lesson, without which, according to the opinion generally entertained, they would never be imbued with a proper respect for British authority. With this view he reminded his Excellency "that the power of resorting to such hostile operations as they might deem necessary for the security of their military position at Canton was reserved to the Commanders-in-chief, in the most ample terms, in the communication addressed by the Plenipotentiaries to the Government of China, which formed the subject of my letter to yourself and Sir Michael Seymour, dated the 6th February last."

Before leaving Tientsin, Lord Elgin intimated his desire to meet the Commissioners in a semi-official manner; and accordingly, on the morning of the 6th of July, we proceeded to the "Temple of the Winds," which was not so distant as that at which the former interviews were held, and there paid a friendly visit to the Commissioners, in the course of which Lord Elgin alluded to the state of affairs in the south, and the conduct of the Imperial Commissioner Hwang. Had he insisted upon it, there is no doubt he might have procured this worthy's disgrace, instead of leaving this to be done on a future day. Lord Elgin was, however, unwilling to use language which might seem to imply that we were unable to cope with the Canton Braves, and he therefore contented himself with warning the Commissioners that the conduct Hwang was pursuing in the south would lead to a recurrence of those scenes which they must deplore equally with himself. Kweiliang replied in the same spirit, and expressed his earnest hope that the troubles at Canton were now at an end, and that the Treaty just concluded would inaugurate a more peaceful era in the relations of the Celestial Empire with foreigners. He promised to use his influence to put a stop to the proceedings of the Governor-General Hwang.

Since our last interview with this venerable old man, news had been received of the death of Yu, the First Minister of the Council of State. This gave Kweiliang the highest rank in the Empire.

The Ambassador adverted to the expediency of a Chinese officer of rank being sent to England as Ambassador, and asked the portly Hwashana whether he would like to go in that capacity; to which that sedate and imperturbable old aristocrat replied, "that if the Emperor ordered him to go, he would go; but if the Emperor did not order him to go, he would not go." Lord Elgin then complimented him on his eminence as a scholar and a poet, and referred to the distinction which was conferred upon him by his having taken the degree of Han; an allusion which caused him somewhat to relax, as he acknowledged the compliment with an air of grim gratification. The allusion to his poetical compositions was met by an offer on his part to present Lord Elgin with a copy of some of them, and a goodly supply of volumes accordingly followed us on our return to the yamun, containing the metrical effusions of this accomplished "Imperial Expositor of the Classics." As I am not aware that the poem of a Chinese Cabinet Minister has ever yet appeared in print, I take this opportunity of giving publicity to the following stanzas, as a specimen of those which have, during the intervals of his political labours, flowed from the pen of His Excellency Hwashana. It is just possible that their merit is due rather to Mr Wade's elegant translation, than to the poetic talent of the composer.

Hwashana's Complaint when, on his second mission to Moukhden, the Capital of Manchouria, he finds himself once more at the Inn at Chalau.

I.

"On towards the sister capital once more,
By duty called, I track my distant way ;
The watch-dog notes my wheel, as droops the night
O'er the thatched cot, and slowly tramp my steeds
Up the wild pass, in autumn's mourning sad,
Joyless the moon. And now in chamber lone,
Beneath his single lamp, the traveller dreams
Of house and home, an hundred leagues behind.
Where are his rhymes these panels bore of old ?
Vain search ! o'er Lu ho let him listless pore.

II.

Where herds and swine once lay, a hostel now.
Chalau is won at last. My car is staid,
As sunset, slanting, strikes its roof, and chill
The widespread bars admit the evening's breath.
Forlorn the scene—a very "Walk in Dew."*
Envoy of majesty! so known to whom?
Peace where the State hath need—no word of care;
Turn to thy muse—let verse these walls adorn."

I leave to competent critics the task of discussing the merits of this production; but in justice to a humbler poet, who became well known to us during our trip to the north, and whose gentle and amiable character impressed us all in his favour, I venture to insert a composition which I think bears off the palm from his exalted competitor. Old Chang was one of those not very old men who have probably been known as "old Chang" all their lives. He was a not unfavourable specimen of the literary class of China,—a good scholar, an efficient spy in behalf of his own Government, a gentleman in his manners, a great humbug, and a confirmed opium-smoker. He did not speak a word of English, though he had lived with Mr Wade as teacher for many years, and in that capacity accompanied us to Tientsin. The poem, also translated and versified by Mr Wade, which was written on a fan in memory of the occasion, was thus headed:—

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* The "Walk in Dew" is a poem, allusion to which is made to convey to the reader the idea of shuddering or shivering horror with which the present poet gazes on the scene before him. The lines on the title-page of this volume are a rhythmical version of the last half-stanza.

"Two stanzas of verses, in five words each, presented by Chang-Tung-Yau to Wade his pupil, and literary acquaintance of nine years' standing, with whom he had been a shipmate to Taku, and at Tientsin, on finding himself several months on board the same vessel with him. Composed on the 5th moon of the year Wu Wu (June 1858).

I.

"So best, in lettered toil thine aim
To aid the world—by one fair deed
To earn a thousand autumns' fame.
The day's capricious will why heed?
Fitful as down upon the air
A bubble that the waters bear,
Is all our glory's fleeting pride.
Thy pastime in the leisure hour
The nicely-studied rhyme to pair;
Nor titles win thy praise, nor power—
And well, for all is change. Tho' fair
The moon, yet dark the evening's doom:
Changeful our lot, as light and gloom
Play o'er the blue stream's tide.

II.

Nine years since first we met are sped,
Thenceforth in friendly union bound;
Now six long moons one deck we tread.
Our night-lamp trimm'd, we chat the round
Of earth's affairs; the burning day
On weighty labours pours its ray;
We part inditing matters grave.
For me, my part fled vainly by,
And with what haste! No longer proud,
But free I stray, as floats on high,

Now clustering, now dispersed, the cloud.
Home to my books—I ask no more—
With age my limbs and travel sore :
Give me my hill-side cave."

Hwashana's volume was not the only present Lord Elgin received from the Commissioners ; nine enormous earthen jars of wine, of dimensions sufficient for Morgiana to smother thieves in, made their appearance just as we were leaving the yamun.

The same afternoon we bade a final adieu to the "Temple of Supreme Felicity," and embarked on board the Firm gunboat. A flowing tide swept us down to the Gulf in eight hours, and that night we had the satisfaction of once more finding ourselves on board the good ship Furious. As she had now remained without moving from her dismal anchorage for three months, our appearance was hailed with some pleasure, as the signal for a change to new and more lively scenes.

As we found that we should just have time, on our way back to Shanghai, to visit the Great Wall, we steered a north-easterly course after we had weighed anchor on the following day. Before dark we saw the Sha-liu-tien, or "Sandhill Fields," extensive sandbanks rising but a few feet above the water, remarkable only for being a favourite and profitable fishing-ground, and for a square joss-house painted white to serve as a beacon, and which, situated at one corner, is the only building visible.

The following morning found us off the high land of the department of Shuntien in the province of Chih-li. Unfortunately the weather was thick and lowering ; the mountains were capped with clouds ; and we could only judge of their height when we caught an occasional glimpse of a peak rising from two to three thousand feet above the sea-level. In fine weather there is no difficulty in finding the Great Wall, which is seen for miles scoring with an irregular line the sides of the steepest hills, and crossing their highest ridges. To-day, however, we looked in vain for any such indication of its existence ; dense masses of cloud rolled along the base of the range ; while misty drizzling rain rendered our search neither hopeful nor agreeable. About 9 A.M. we passed a large walled city, near which a mass of solid masonry abutted on the sea, with a tower or two in rear. This answered in some degree to Lord Jocelyn's description of the locality, but according to the chart, the position was placed some miles further on. We therefore followed the coast for two more hours, until we shoaled the water to five fathoms, without observing any sign of the Wall.

It was now evident that we had passed the object of our search, and that the walled town we had observed was Shan-hai, described as being situated at the point where the Great Wall abuts on the sea. The north shore of the Gulf of Leatung, along which we had since been steaming, was the most beautiful piece of coast scenery we had seen in China. Rich plains, covered with the brightest verdure, rose in swelling undulations from the sea, to the magnificent range of peaked mountains in rear. Villages were scattered plentifully over them. Snug farmhouses nestled in clumps of wood, and innumerable cattle dotted the landscape, as though they had been sown upon it broadcast. Everything indicated a prosperous rural population, occupying a champaign of much fertility and picturesque beauty.

We were sorry to turn our backs upon it, without either prosecuting our voyage to the new port of Neu-chwang, from which we were scarce fifty miles distant, or returning to inspect more closely the far-famed Wall; but the heavy fogs would have decided the question against further exploration, even had not our anxiety to reach Shanghai in time for the departure of the mail influenced Lord Elgin in avoiding any further delay. A rapid and prosperous passage of four days to Shanghai, from this point, enabled us to secure this latter object.

Prior to leaving Tientsin, Lord Elgin had acquainted the Admiral with his intention of proceeding at an early date to Japan, at the same time adverting to the state of affairs at Canton, and informing his Excellency that the conclusion of the Treaty would release the naval forces from any further service in the north of the Empire. As the complexion of the news received from Canton on our arrival at Shanghai, however, was not in any degree improved, Lord Elgin determined to postpone his departure for Japan, in order to consult with the

Admiral upon the course to be pursued in that quarter.

The following fortnight we passed at Shanghai in a state of some anxiety, as the Admiral did not appear, and the condition of Canton seemed to be getting worse by each successive mail: not until the 26th were we cheered by the arrival of the Coromandel in the river, the Admiral having made a slow passage from the north in his flag-ship, which was then lying at the Rugged Islands. He had been more fortunate than ourselves in his trip to the Great Wall, which was visited both by his Excellency and Baron Gros.

On the day previous to the arrival of the Admiral, Lord Elgin received the intelligence from Pekin that five Commissioners had been appointed to proceed to Shanghai for the settlement of the tariff, and the framing of those general trade-regulations which must necessarily be drawn up as a supplemental part of the Treaty. Of these Commissioners, two were our old friends, Kweiliang and Hwashana, to whom was added the Governor-general of the Two Kiangs, Ho-Kwei-tsick, one of the most highly esteemed men in the Empire for learning and administrative ability. Two other mandarins of less note completed the commission.

As no commissioners of the eminence of these mandarins had been demanded for the revision of the tariff, &c., their appointment to this function was a spontaneous act, on the part of the Government, of some significance; and their position and character were such, that whatever idea Lord Elgin might at one time have entertained of proceeding to Canton instead of Japan was now abandoned, as he considered it above all things essential that he should not lose the opportunity which the visit of the Commissioners would afford him, of exerting that influence which personal intercourse would, he doubted not, enable him to acquire over them.

Though the Treaty of Tientsin effected the great object of revolutionising the system under which our political and commercial relations with the Empire were to be for the future conducted, there were many most important details to be considered, in the altered conditions under which these latter were to be worked out; and the Ambassador perceived with no little satisfaction that these might now be arranged by himself, in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty, and with that deliberation and solemnity which they deserved. Nor, indeed, however deeply interested he might feel in the state of affairs then existing at Canton, did he consider that their settlement fell within the province of a civilian. The city was under a purely military government. It is true, the Governor Pih-kwei was exercising certain functions as a Chinese authority, but he did so only with the sufferance of General Straubenzee, and as an assistance to that officer in preserving peace and order: should the General have found his presence an obstruction rather than an aid to his administration, it was in his power at any time to suspend him from his functions, and turn him out of the city or keep him in confinement, as indeed for some part of the time he did.

Lord Elgin was strongly impressed with the notion that the most thorough and satisfactory way of restoring quiet to Canton, was to inflict a summary chastisement upon those who disturbed the peace there. And accordingly, in a letter to General Straubenzee, informing his Excellency of the expected arrival of the Commissioners above named, and of his intention to meet them at Shanghai, the Ambassador goes on to say: "It is not impossible that I may be able to induce these high officers to take some active steps to check the proceedings of the Braves at Canton; but looking at the present state of affairs in that quarter, as portrayed in your Excellency's despatch of the 22d instant, and in the reports I have received from Mr Parkes, I cannot help thinking that it would be very desirable that any such intimation by the Chinese authorities should be preceded by some vigorous decisive action on our part, showing our power to control and punish the Braves.

"It is for your Excellency to determine how such a blow can be most effectually struck, but I trust you will excuse me for making a suggestion which is prompted by the expected arrival of the Imperial Commissioners, and the anomalous state of affairs at Canton."

Lord Elgin also wrote a letter to the Admiral immediately on his arrival at Shanghai, calling his Excellency's attention "to the continued existence in that quarter of a state of affairs to which it is most important an arrest should be put at the earliest period;" and proceeding in terms almost identical with those I have quoted as already addressed to General Straubenzee. In reply to this communication, the Admiral stated that it was his intention, prior to going south, to proceed to Nagasaki, for the purpose of delivering over the yacht Emperor to the Government of Japan, and watering the Calcutta.

During this period of our stay at Shanghai, the climate was more oppressively hot than I ever remember to have felt it in any part of the world. The thermometer did not show a higher temperature than at Tientsin, but there was a stifling heaviness in the atmosphere which acted in a most depressing manner both on health and spirits. Cases of death by sunstroke were of daily occurrence, chiefly among the sailors in the shipping which crowded the river. Upwards of a hundred merchantmen, waiting hopelessly for cargoes, were lying at anchor under the broiling sun, their lists of sick daily increasing under the deleterious influence of the climate.

As two or three weeks must elapse before the arrival of the Commissioners, Lord Elgin determined to escape for the interval to Japan, and return in time to meet their Excellencies at Shanghai. In the mean time certain changes had taken place in the "personnel" of the mission. Mr Bruce had proceeded to England with the Treaty of Tientsin, immediately on our return to Shanghai; Mr Jocelyn had arrived to relieve Mr Cameron, who went home on his promotion; and Mr Morrison returned to England. With our party thus reduced, we embarked on board the Furious on the last day of July 1858, delighted under any circumstances to escape from the summer heats of Shanghai, were it only for a few weeks; but our gratification increased by the anticipation of visiting scenes which have ever been veiled in the mystery of a jealous and rigid seclusion.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

TREATY OF TIENTSIN.

Enclosure in No. 181.

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China. Signed, in the English and Chinese languages, at Tientsin, June 26, 1858.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, being desirous to put an end to the existing misunderstanding between the two countries, and to place their relations on a more satisfactory footing in future, have resolved to proceed to a revision and improvement of the Treaties existing between them; and, for that purpose, have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, a Peer of the United Kingdom, and Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle;

And His Majesty the Emperor of China, the High Commissioner Kweiliang, a Senior Chief-Secretary of State, styled of the East Cabinet, Captain-General of the Plain White Banner of the Manchu Banner Force, Superintendent-General of the administration of Criminal Law; and Hwashana, one of His Imperial Majesty's Expositors of the Classics, Manchu President of the Office for the regulation of the Civil Establishment, Captain-General of the Bordered Blue Banner of the Chinese Banner Force, and Visitor of the Office of Interpretation;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The Treaty of Peace and Amity between the two nations, signed at Nankin on the twenty-ninth day of August, in the year One thousand eight hundred and forty-two, is hereby renewed and confirmed.

The Supplementary Treaty and General Regulations of Trade having been amended and improved, and the substance of their provisions having been incorporated in this Treaty, the said Supplementary Treaty and General Regulations of Trade are hereby abrogated.

ARTICLE II.

For the better preservation of harmony in future, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and His Majesty the Emperor of China mutually agree that, in accordance with the universal practice of great and friendly nations, Her Majesty the Queen may, if She see fit, appoint Ambassadors, Ministers, or other Diplomatic Agents to the Court of Pekin; and His Majesty the Emperor of China may, in like manner, if He see fit, appoint Ambassadors, Ministers, or other Diplomatic Agents to the Court of St. James's.

ARTICLE III.

His Majesty the Emperor of China hereby agrees that the Ambassador, Minister, or other Diplomatic Agent, so appointed by Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, may reside, with his family and establishment, permanently at the capital, or may visit it occasionally, at the option of the British Government. He shall not be called upon to perform any ceremony derogatory to him as representing the Sovereign of an independent nation on a footing of equality with that of China. On the other hand, he shall use the same forms of ceremony and respect to His Majesty the Emperor as are employed by the Ambassadors, Ministers, or Diplomatic Agents of Her Majesty towards the Sovereigns of independent and equal European nations.

It is further agreed, that Her Majesty's Government may acquire at Pekin a site for building, or may hire houses for the accommodation of Her Majesty's Mission, and that the Chinese Government will assist it in so doing.

Her Majesty's Representative shall be at liberty to choose his own servants and attendants, who shall not be subjected to any kind of molestation whatever.

Any person guilty of disrespect or violence to Her Majesty's Representative, or to any member of his family or establishment, in deed or word, shall be severely punished.

ARTICLE IV.

It is further agreed, that no obstacle or difficulty shall be made to the free movements of Her Majesty's Representative, and that he, and the persons of his suite, may come and go, and travel at their pleasure. He shall, moreover, have full liberty to send and receive his correspondence, to and from any point on the sea-coast that he may select; and his letters and effects shall be held sacred and inviolable. He may employ, for their transmission, special couriers, who shall meet with the same protection and facilities for travelling as the persons employed in carrying despatches for the Imperial Government; and, generally, he shall enjoy the same privileges as are accorded to officers of the same rank by the usage and consent of Western nations.

All expenses attending the Diplomatic Mission of Great Britain shall be borne by the British Government.

ARTICLE V.

His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to nominate one of the Secretaries of State, or a President of one of the Boards, as the high officer with whom the Ambassador, Minister, or other Diplomatic Agent of Her Majesty the

Queen shall transact business, either personally or in writing, on a footing of perfect equality.

ARTICLE VI.

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain agrees that the privileges hereby secured shall be enjoyed in her dominions by the Ambassadors, Ministers, or Diplomatic Agents of the Emperor of China accredited to the Court of Her Majesty.

ARTICLE VII.

Her Majesty the Queen may appoint one or more Consuls in the dominions of the Emperor of China; and such Consul or Consuls shall be at liberty to reside in any of the open ports or cities of China, as Her Majesty the Queen may consider most expedient for the interests of British commerce. They shall be treated with due respect by the Chinese authorities, and enjoy the same privileges and immunities as the Consular Officers of the most favoured nation.

Consuls and Vice-Consuls in charge shall rank with Intendants of Circuits; Vice-Consuls, Acting Vice-Consuls, and Interpreters, with Prefects. They shall have access to the official residences of these officers, and communicate with them, either personally or in writing, on a footing of equality, as the interests of the public service may require.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities; nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with.

ARTICLE IX.

British subjects are hereby authorised to travel, for their pleasure or for purposes of trade, to all parts of the interior, under passports which will be issued by their Consuls, and countersigned by the local authorities. These passports, if demanded, must be produced for examination in the localities passed through. If the passport be not irregular, the bearer will be allowed to proceed, and no opposition shall be offered to his hiring persons, or hiring vessels for the carriage of his baggage or merchandise. If he be without a passport, or if he commit any offence against the law, he shall be handed over to the nearest Consul for punishment, but he must not be subjected to any ill-usage in excess of necessary restraint. No passport need be applied for by persons going on excursions from the ports open to trade to a distance not exceeding 100 *li*, and for a period not exceeding five days.

The provisions of this Article do not apply to crews of ships, for the due restraint of whom regulations will be drawn up by the Consul and the local authorities.

To Nankin, and other cities disturbed by persons in arms against the Government, no pass shall be given, until they shall have been recaptured.

ARTICLE X.

British merchant-ships shall have authority to trade upon the Great River (Yang-tsz). The Upper and Lower Valley of the river being, however, disturbed by outlaws, no port shall be for the present opened to trade, with the exception of Chin-kiang, which shall be opened in a year from the date of the signing of this Treaty.

So soon as peace shall have been restored, British vessels shall also be admitted to trade at such ports as far as Hankow, not exceeding three in number, as the British Minister, after consultation with the Chinese Secretary of State, may determine shall be ports of entry and discharge.

ARTICLE XI.

In addition to the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow, Ningpo, and Shanghae, opened by the Treaty of Nankin, it is agreed that British subjects may frequent the cities and ports of New-Chwang, Tang-Chow, Tai-Wau (Formosa), Chau-Chow (Swatoa), and Kiung-Chow (Hainan).

They are permitted to carry on trade with whomsoever they please, and to proceed to and fro at pleasure with their vessels and merchandise.

They shall enjoy the same privileges, advantages, and immunities, at the said towns and ports, as they enjoy at the ports already opened to trade, including the right of residence, of buying or renting houses, of leasing land therein, and of building churches, hospitals, and cemeteries.

ARTICLE XII.

British subjects, whether at the ports or at other places, desiring to build or open houses, warehouses, churches, hospitals, or burial-grounds, shall make their agreement for the land or buildings they require, at the rates prevailing among the people, equitably, and without exaction on either side.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Chinese Government will place no restrictions whatever upon the employment, by British subjects, of Chinese subjects, in any lawful capacity.

ARTICLE XIV.

British subjects may hire whatever boats they please for the transport of goods or passengers, and the sum to be paid for such boats shall be settled between the parties themselves, without the interference of the Chinese Government. The number of these boats shall not be limited, nor shall a monopoly in respect either of the boats, or of the porters or coolies engaged in carrying the goods, be granted to any parties. If any smuggling takes place in them, the offenders will, of course, be punished according to law.

ARTICLE XV.

All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between British subjects, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the British authorities.

ARTICLE XVI.

Chinese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects, shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities, according to the laws of China.

British subjects who may commit any crime in China shall be tried and punished by the Consul, or other public functionary authorised thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain.

Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

ARTICLE XVII.

A British subject having reason to complain of a Chinese must proceed to the Consulate, and state his grievance. The Consul will inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese have reason to complain of a British subject, the Consul shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner. If disputes take place of such a nature that the Consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of the Chinese authorities, that they may together examine into the merits of the case, and decide it equitably.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The Chinese authorities shall, at all times, afford the fullest protection to the persons and property of British subjects, whenever these shall have been subjected to insult or violence. In all cases of incendiarism or robbery, the local authorities shall at once take the necessary steps for the recovery of the stolen property, the suppression of disorder, and the arrest of the guilty parties, whom they will punish according to law.

ARTICLE XIX.

If any British merchant-vessel, while within Chinese waters, be plundered by robbers or pirates, it shall be the duty of the Chinese authorities to use every endeavour to capture and punish the said robbers or pirates, and to recover the stolen property, that it may be handed over to the Consul for restoration to the owner.

ARTICLE XX.

If any British vessel be at any time wrecked or stranded on the coast of China, or be compelled to take refuge in any port within the dominions of the Emperor of China, the Chinese authorities, on being apprised of the fact, shall immediately adopt measures for its relief and security; the persons on board shall receive friendly treatment, and shall be furnished, if necessary, with the means of conveyance to the nearest Consular station.

ARTICLE XXI.

If criminals, subjects of China, shall take refuge in Hong-Kong, or on board the British ships there, they shall, upon due requisition by the Chinese authorities, be searched for, and, on proof of their guilt, be delivered up.

In like manner, if Chinese offenders take refuge in the houses or on board the vessels of British subjects at the open ports, they shall not be harboured or concealed, but shall be delivered up, on due requisition by the Chinese authorities, addressed to the British Consul.

ARTICLE XXII.

Should any Chinese subject fail to discharge debts incurred to a British subject, or should he fraudulently abscond, the Chinese authorities will do their utmost to effect his arrest, and enforce recovery of the debts. The British authorities will likewise do their utmost to bring to justice any British subject fraudulently absconding or failing to discharge debts incurred by him to a Chinese subject.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Should natives of China who may repair to Hong-Kong to trade incur debts there, the recovery of such debts must be arranged for by the English Courts of Justice on the spot; but should the Chinese debtor abscond, and be known to have property, real or personal, within the Chinese territory, it shall be the duty of the Chinese authorities, on application by, and in concert with, the British Consul, to do their utmost to see justice done between the parties.

ARTICLE XXIV.

It is agreed that British subjects shall pay, on all merchandise imported or exported by them, the duties prescribed by the Tariff; but in no case shall they be called upon to pay other or higher duties than are required of the subjects of any other foreign nation.

ARTICLE XXV.

Import duties shall be considered payable on the landing of the goods, and duties of export on the shipment of the same.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Whereas the Tariff fixed by Article X. of the Treaty of Nankin, and which was estimated so as to impose on imports and exports a duty at about the rate of five per cent *ad valorem*, has been found, by reason of the fall in value of various articles of merchandise therein enumerated, to impose a duty upon these, considerably in excess of the rate originally assumed as above to be a fair rate, it is agreed that the said Tariff shall be revised, and that as soon as the Treaty shall have been signed, application shall be made to the Emperor of China to depute a high officer of the Board of Revenue to meet, at Shanghae, officers to be deputed on behalf of the British Government, to consider its revision together, so that the Tariff, as revised, may come into operation immediately after the ratification of this Treaty.

ARTICLE XXVII.

It is agreed that either of the High Contracting Parties to this Treaty may demand a further revision of the Tariff, and of the Commercial Articles of this Treaty, at the end of ten years; but if no demand be made on either side within six months after the end of the first ten years, then the Tariff shall remain in force for ten years more, reckoned from the end of the preceding ten years; and so it shall be, at the end of each successive ten years.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

Whereas it was agreed in Article X. of the Treaty of Nankin, that British imports, having paid the tariff duties, should be conveyed into the interior free of all further charges, except a transit duty, the amount whereof was not to exceed a certain per-centage on tariff value; and whereas no accurate information having been furnished of the amount of such duty, British merchants have constantly complained that charges are suddenly and arbitrarily imposed by the provincial authorities as transit duties upon produce on its way to the foreign market, and on imports on their way into the interior, to the detriment of trade; it is agreed that within four months from the signing of this Treaty, at all ports now open to British trade, and within a similar period at all ports that may hereafter be opened, the authority appointed to superintend the collection of duties shall be obliged, upon application of the Consul, to declare the amount of duties leviable on produce between the place of production and the port of shipment, and upon imports between the Consular port in question and the inland markets named by the Consul; and that a notification thereof shall be published in English and Chinese for general information.

But it shall be at the option of any British subject, desiring to convey produce purchased inland to a port, or to convey imports from a port to an inland market, to clear his goods of all transit duties, by payment of a single charge. The amount of this charge shall be leviable on exports at the first barrier they may have to pass, or, on imports, at the port at which they are landed; and, on payment thereof, a certificate shall be issued, which shall exempt the goods from all further inland charges whatsoever.

It is further agreed, that the amount of this charge shall be calculated as nearly as possible, at the rate of two and a half per cent *ad valorem*, and that it shall be fixed for each article at the Conference to be held at Shanghae for the revision of the Tariff.

It is distinctly understood that the payment of transit dues, by commutation or otherwise, shall in no way affect the tariff duties on imports or exports, which will continue to be levied separately and in full.

ARTICLE XXIX.

British merchant-vessels of more than one hundred and fifty tons burden shall be charged tonnage dues at the rate of four mace per ton; if of one hundred and fifty tons and under, they shall be charged at the rate of one mace per ton.

Any vessel clearing from any of the open ports of China for any other of the open ports or for Hong-Kong, shall be entitled, on application of the master, to a special certificate from the Customs, on exhibition of which she shall be exempted from all further payment of tonnage-dues in any open port of China, for a period of four months, to be reckoned from the date of her port-clearance.

ARTICLE XXX.

The master of any British merchant-vessel may, within forty-eight hours after the arrival of his vessel, but not later, decide to depart without breaking bulk, in which case he will not be subject to pay tonnage-dues. But tonnage-dues shall be held due after the expiration of the said forty-eight hours. No other fees or charges upon entry or departure shall be levied.

ARTICLE XXXI.

No tonnage-dues shall be payable on boats employed by British subjects in the conveyance of passengers, baggage, letters, articles of provision, or other articles not subject to duty, between any of the open ports. All cargo-boats, however, conveying merchandise subject to duty shall pay tonnage-dues, once in six months, at the rate of four mace per register ton.

ARTICLE XXXII.

The Consuls and Superintendents of Customs shall consult together regarding the erection of beacons or lighthouses, and the distribution of buoys and light-ships, as occasion may demand.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

Duties shall be paid to the bankers authorised by the Chinese Government to receive the same in its behalf, either in sycee or in foreign money, according to the assay made at Canton, on the thirteenth of July, One thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Sets of standard weights and measures, prepared according to the standard issued to the Canton Customhouse by the Board of Revenue, shall be delivered by the Superintendent of Customs to the Consul at each port, to secure uniformity and prevent confusion.

ARTICLE XXXV.

Any British merchant-vessel arriving at one of the open ports shall be at liberty to engage the services of a pilot to take her into port. In like manner, after she has discharged all legal dues and duties, and is ready to take her departure, she shall be allowed to select a pilot to conduct her out of port.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

Whenever a British merchant-vessel shall arrive off one of the open ports, the Superintendent of Customs shall depute one or more Customs officers to guard the ship. They shall either live in a boat of their own, or stay on board the ship, as may best suit their convenience. Their food and expenses shall be supplied them from the Customhouse, and they shall not be entitled to any fees whatever from the master or consignee. Should they violate this regulation, they shall be punished proportionately to the amount exacted.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

Within twenty-four hours after arrival, the ship's papers, bills of lading, &c., shall be lodged in the hands of the Consul, who will, within a further period of twenty-four hours, report to the Superintendent of Customs the name of the ship, her register tonnage, and the nature of her cargo. If, owing to neglect on the part of the master, the above rule is not complied with within forty-eight hours after the ship's arrival, he shall be liable to a fine of fifty taels for every day's delay: the total amount of penalty, however, shall not exceed two hundred taels.

The master will be responsible for the correctness of the manifest, which shall contain a full and true account of the particulars of the cargo on board. For presenting a false manifest, he will subject himself to a fine of five hundred taels; but he will be allowed to correct, within twenty-four hours after delivery of it to the Customs officers, any mistake he may discover in his manifest, without incurring this penalty.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

After receiving from the Consul the report in due form, the Superintendent of Customs shall grant the vessel a permit to open hatches. If the master shall open hatches and begin to discharge any goods without such permission, he shall be fined five hundred taels, and the goods discharged shall be confiscated wholly.

ARTICLE XXXIX.

Any British merchant who has cargo to land or ship, must apply to the Superintendent of Customs for a special permit. Cargo landed or shipped without such permit will be liable to confiscation.

ARTICLE XL.

No transhipment from one vessel to another can be made without special permission, under pain of confiscation of the goods so transhipped.

ARTICLE XLI.

When all dues and duties shall have been paid, the Superintendent of Customs shall give a port clearance, and the Consul shall then return the ship's papers, so that she may depart on her voyage.

ARTICLE XLII.

With respect to articles subject, according to the Tariff, to an *ad valorem* duty, if the British merchant cannot agree with the Chinese officer in affixing a value, then each party shall call two or three merchants to look at the goods, and the highest price at which any of these merchants would be willing to purchase them shall be assumed as the value of the goods.

ARTICLE XLIII.

Duties shall be charged upon the net weight of each article, making a deduction for the tare weight of congee, &c. To fix the tare on any article, such as tea, if the British merchant cannot agree with the Customhouse officer, then each party shall choose so many chests out of every hundred, which being first weighed in gross, shall afterwards be tared, and the average tare upon these chests shall be assumed as the tare upon the whole, and upon this principle shall the tare be fixed upon all other goods and packages. If there should be any other points in dispute which cannot be settled, the British merchant may appeal to his Consul, who will communicate the particulars of the case to the Superintendent of Customs, that it may be equitably arranged. But the appeal must be made within twenty-four hours, or it will not be attended to. While such points are still unsettled, the Superintendent of Customs shall postpone the insertion of the same in his books.

ARTICLE XLIV.

Upon all damaged goods a fair reduction of duty shall be allowed, proportionate to their deterioration. If any disputes arise, they shall be settled in the manner pointed out in the clause of this Treaty having reference to articles which pay duty *ad valorem*.

ARTICLE XLV.

British merchants who may have imported merchandise into any of the open ports and paid the duty thereon, if they desire to re-export the same, shall be entitled to make application to the Superintendent of Customs, who, in order to prevent fraud on the revenue, shall cause examination to be made by suitable officers, to see that the duties paid on such goods, as entered in the Customhouse books, correspond with the representation made, and that the goods remain with their original marks unchanged. He shall then make a memorandum on the port-clearance of the goods and of the amount of duties paid, and deliver the same to the merchant; and shall also certify the facts to the officers of Customs of the other ports. All which being done, on the arrival in port of the vessel in which the goods are laden, everything being found on examination there to correspond, she shall be permitted to break bulk, and land the said goods, without being subject to the payment of any additional duty thereon. But if, on such examination, the Superintendent of Customs shall detect any fraud on the revenue in the case, then the goods shall be subject to confiscation by the Chinese Government.

British merchants desiring to re-export duty-paid imports to a foreign country, shall be entitled, on complying with the same conditions as in the case of re-exportation to another port in China, to a drawback-certificate, which shall be a valid tender to the Customs in payment of import or export duties.

Foreign grain brought into any port of China in a British ship, if no part thereof has been landed, may be re-exported without hindrance.

ARTICLE XLVI.

The Chinese authorities at each port shall adopt the means they may judge most proper to prevent the revenue suffering from fraud or smuggling.

ARTICLE XLVII.

British merchant-vessels are not entitled to resort to other than the ports of trade declared open by this Treaty. They are not unlawfully to enter other ports in China, or to carry on clandestine trade along the coasts thereof. Any vessel violating this provision, shall, with her cargo, be subject to confiscation by the Chinese Government.

ARTICLE XLVIII.

If any British merchant-vessel be concerned in smuggling, the goods, whatever their value or nature, shall be subject to confiscation by the Chinese authorities, and the ship may be prohibited from trading further and sent away, as soon as her accounts shall have been adjusted and paid.

ARTICLE XLIX.

All penalties enforced, or confiscations made under this Treaty, shall belong and be appropriated to the public service of the Government of China.

ARTICLE L.

All official communications addressed by the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of Her Majesty the Queen to the Chinese authorities shall, henceforth, be written in English. They will for the present be accompanied by a Chinese version; but it is understood that, in the event of there being any difference of meaning between the English and Chinese text, the English Government will hold the sense as expressed in the English text to be the correct sense. This provision is to apply to the Treaty now negotiated, the Chinese text of which has been carefully corrected by the English original.

ARTICLE LI.

It is agreed, that henceforward the character "I" 夷 (barbarian) shall not be applied to the Government or subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, in any Chinese official document issued by the Chinese authorities, either in the capital or in the provinces.

ARTICLE LII.

British ships of war coming for no hostile purpose, or being engaged in the pursuit of pirates, shall be at liberty to visit all ports within the dominions of the Emperor of China, and shall receive every facility for the purchase of provisions, procuring water, and, if occasion require, for the making of repairs. The Commanders of such ship shall hold intercourse with the Chinese authorities on terms of equality and courtesy.

ARTICLE LIII.

In consideration of the injury sustained by native and foreign commerce from the prevalence of piracy in the seas of China, the High Contracting Parties agree to concert measures for its suppression.

ARTICLE LIV.

The British Government and its subjects are hereby confirmed in all privileges, immunities, and advantages conferred on them by previous Treaties ; and it is hereby expressly stipulated that the British Government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in all privileges, immunities, and advantages that may have been, or may be hereafter, granted by His Majesty the Emperor of China to the Government or subjects of any other nation.

ARTICLE LV.

In evidence of Her desire for the continuance of a friendly understanding, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain consents to include in a Separate Article, which shall be in every respect of equal validity with the Articles of this Treaty, the conditions affecting indemnity for expenses incurred and losses sustained in the matter of the Canton question.

ARTICLE LVI.

The ratifications of this Treaty, under the hand of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, respectively, shall be exchanged at Pekin, within a year from this day of signature.

In token whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this Treaty.

Done at Tientsin, this twenty-sixth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight; corresponding with the Chinese date, the sixteenth day, fifth moon, of the eighth year of Hien Fung.

(L.S.) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

Signature
of First Chinese
Plenipotentiary.

Signature
of Second Chinese
Plenipotentiary.

Seal
of the Chinese
Plenipotentiaries.

Separate Article annexed to the Treaty concluded between Great Britain and China, on the Twenty-sixth day of June, in the year One thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight.

It is hereby agreed that a sum of two millions of taels, on account of the losses sustained by British subjects, through the misconduct of the Chinese authorities at Canton; and a further sum of two millions of taels on account of the military expenses of the expedition which Her Majesty the Queen has been compelled to send out for the purpose of obtaining redress, and of enforcing the due observance of Treaty provisions; shall be paid to Her Majesty's Representatives in China by the authorities of the Kwang-tung province.

The necessary arrangements with respect to the time and mode of effecting these payments, shall be determined by Her Majesty's Representative, in concert with the Chinese authorities of Kwang-tung.

When the above amount shall have been discharged in full, the British forces will be withdrawn from the city of Canton.

Done at Tientsin, this twenty-sixth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, corresponding with the Chinese date, the sixteenth day, fifth moon, of the eighth year of Hien Fung.

(L.S.) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

Signature
of First Chinese
Plenipotentiary.

Signature
of Second Chinese
Plenipotentiary.

Seal
of the Chinese
Plenipotentiaries.

No. II.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO A RESIDENT MINISTER AT PEKIN.

No. 216.

The Earl of Elgin to the Earl of Malmesbury.
(*Received December* 29.)

(Extract.) *Shanghae, November* 5, 1858.

In my despatch of the 22d ultimo I enclosed a précis of a very important letter which I had just then received from the Chinese Imperial Commissioners. I informed your Lordship that it was very becoming in its tone; but that it expressed a very strong hope that her Majesty would exercise the option conferred on her by Article III. of the Treaty of Tientsin, by directing her Minister to visit Pekin occasionally, instead of residing there permanently, and I requested you not to come to any final decision on this point until you should have heard from me again. I have now the honour to transmit herewith a translation of the letter in question, and of the correspondence to which it has led.

In order that your Lordship may correctly apprehend the drift of this correspondence, it is necessary that I should state at the outset that the Chinese authorities contemplate the permanent residence of foreign Ministers at the capital with more aversion and apprehension than any of the other innovations introduced by the Treaty of Tientsin.

In reply to the representations which I have been able, through private channels, to make to them in favour of this arrangement as the best means of obviating international disputes, and of preventing them, when they chance to arise, from assuming undue proportions, they are wont to urge, in the first place, of course, the traditional policy of the Empire, and, then, the difficulties in which, if he were constantly resident at the capital, the idiosyncrasies of an individual foreign functionary, of violent temper and overbearing demeanour, might involve them. As regards this latter point (I refer now to communications which have passed between us through officious channels), they are in the habit of illustrating their meaning by examples. "If we were quite sure," say they, "that you would always send to us men thoroughly wise, discreet, and considerate, it might be different; but if, for instance, so and so were appointed to represent a foreign Government at Pekin (and the right, if exercised by you, would, of course, be claimed by all other Governments), a month would not elapse before something would occur which would place our highest officers in the dilemma of having either to risk a quarrel or submit to some indignity which would lower the Chinese Government in the eyes of its own subjects." No doubt such apprehensions are to some extent chimerical; but I am bound to admit that I do not consider them to be altogether so. The doctrine that every Chinaman is a knave, and manageable only by bullying and bravado, like the kindred doctrine that every trading junk carries guns and is piratical, is, I venture with all deference to think, sometimes pushed a little too far in our dealings with this people. Be this, however, as it may, I advert to the point now only because I wish your Lordship to understand that I believe that the objections to the permanent residence of foreign Ministers at Pekin, which the Chinese authorities urge on this head, are sincerely entertained by them, and not entirely groundless.

Again, we know from the "Pekin Gazette" that the Emperor has issued orders for the reconstruction of the forts which we knocked down at the mouth of the Peiho, and for the erection of other works to protect Pekin. It would hardly, I think, be reasonable on our part to require that the Emperor of China should leave his capital undefended for the express purpose of enabling us, whenever we see fit so to do, to attack him there. Nor do I, on the other hand, think that any works which he is likely to raise will prevent us from reaching it if we resolve to go thither in pursuance of a treaty-right. At the same time, it may be a question whether it would be expedient to exercise the option conferred on Her Majesty by Article III. of the Treaty of Tientsin, in such a manner as would force the Emperor to choose between a desperate attempt at resistance and passive acquiescence in what he and his advisers believe to be the greatest calamity which can befall the Empire.

Short, however, of the extreme measure of a forcible resistance to the invasion of the capital by foreign Ministers, with their wives and establishments (these latter being, it appears, in the eyes of the Chinese, more formidable than the Ministers themselves), there is a risk which I feel myself bound, under present circumstances, not to pass over without notice.

Your Lordship may perhaps remember that, on the eve of the day on which the Treaty of Tientsin was signed, I received a representation to the effect that the Chinese Commissioners would certainly lose their heads if they conceded the Articles in my Treaty, providing for the residence of a British Minister at Pekin, and empowering British subjects to travel through the country for trading purposes.

This representation caused me a good deal of anxiety at the time, but I resolved to disregard it, and to act on the hypothesis that, being in the vicinity of Pekin with an armed force, I might so demean myself as to make the Emperor think that he was under an obligation to his Plenipotentiaries for having made peace with me even on the terms objected to.

The result justified this calculation. Kweiliang and Hwashana, the Commissioners who negotiated with me the Treaty of Tientsin, are now here, and seem still to enjoy the Imperial confidence and favour. Moreover, if they entertained before they arrived here any hope of being able to call in question the concessions secured to foreigners by that Treaty, they have been induced since their arrival entirely to abandon it, partly by the peremptory language which I held to them respecting affairs at Canton, and partly by the assurance which has been unofficially conveyed to them, that, if they act towards me in perfect good faith, they will find me reasonable and considerate. If, however, after having in terms so ample, and language so respectful, acceded to my requirements, they are compelled to report to the Emperor that they have failed to obtain from me any consideration whatever for the representations urged by them on behalf of their Sovereign, I fear that their degradation and punishment will be inevitable, and I need hardly say that an occurrence of this nature would tend much to unsettle the Chinese mind, and to beget doubts as to the Emperor's intentions with respect to the new Treaty.

Moreover, the treaty-right to navigate the Yang-tze, and to resort to ports upon that river for purposes of trade, was also made contingent on the re-establishment of the Imperial authority in the ports in question; because, as we have seen fit to affect neutrality between the Emperor of China and the rebels, we could not, of course, without absurdity, require him to give us rights and protection in places actually occupied by a Power which we treat with the same respect as his own.

Nevertheless, it is important that it should be known to Chinese and foreigners, that the Emperor has conceded in principle the opening up of the river; and I have long thought that if I could contrive to go up it in person, with the consent of the Imperial Government, under the plea of selecting the ports which would be most suitable for foreign trade, it would be a very effectual way of tendering to the public the required assurance on this point.

It is only, however, by conciliating the good-will of the Imperial Commissioners that this result can be brought about; for, until the Treaty of Tientsin is ratified, I have clearly no title to go up the river as a matter of right.

I might refer to other important subjects that fall within the category of matters which, although they are beyond the strict provisions of the Treaty, it is desirable, if possible, to settle amicably at the present time; but I think it unnecessary to swell this despatch by enumerating them.

Under these circumstances it became necessarily my duty to consider whether I might not, by a different mode of proceeding, turn the disposition of the Imperial Commissioners to better account.

I find on inquiry, that by adopting a more conciliating tone, in reference to the subject which they have brought under my notice, I can secure the following objects:—

Firstly, I can obtain from them, in the fullest terms, a recognition of the rights accruing to Her Majesty and to British subjects, under the Treaty of Tientsin, including that very right of the permanent establishment of a Minister at Pekin which forms the subject of discussion;

Secondly, I can induce them to take at once all the steps for giving effect to the Treaty, which they can be properly required to take previously to its ratification;

Thirdly, I can further induce them to accede to my wishes in reference to certain other matters not covered by the Treaty, but to which I attach, nevertheless, considerable importance;

Fourthly, I can contrive so to meet their proposal, as to leave in the hands of Her Majesty's Government, to be wielded at its will, a moral lever of the most powerful description, to secure the faithful observance of the Treaty by the Chinese Government in all time to come.

As, in a transaction of so much delicacy, the choice of each word is important, I must refer your Lordship to the enclosed correspondence for a full exposition of the method which I have pursued in furtherance of these ends. The upshot of it all is this: that after reserving, in the most unqualified terms, Her Majesty's right to exercise as she may see fit the option conferred on her by Article III. of the Treaty of Tientsin, I have undertaken to communicate to Her Majesty's Government the representations that have been made to me on the subject by the Chinese Imperial Commissioners, and humbly to submit it as my opinion that if Her Majesty's Ambassador be properly received at Pekin when the ratifications are exchanged next year, and full effect given in all other particulars to the Treaty negotiated at Tientsin, it will be expedient that Her Majesty's Representative in China be instructed to choose a place of residence elsewhere than at Pekin, and to make his visits to the capital either periodically or as frequently as the exigencies of the public service may require.

In pursuance of the above pledge, I address to your Lordship the present communication, and respectfully request for it your favourable consideration.

In conclusion, I would beg leave to remind your Lordship that it is only in the British Treaty that the right to appoint a Minister to reside permanently at Pekin is provided for. Any other nation desiring to exercise this privilege must borrow it from that Treaty under the most favoured nation clause; and if such a claim on the part of any other Power were admitted, of course the objection to the residence of a British Minister at the capital would be at once, by that fact, removed.

And, further, although I adhere to every opinion I have formerly expressed with regard to the importance of the establishment of direct diplomatic relations with the Court of Pekin, I am bound to admit that the position of a British Minister at the capital during the winter months, when the thermometer, if Humboldt is to be believed, falls to 40° below zero, the River Tientsin is frozen, and the Gulf of Pechelee hardly navigable, would not be altogether a pleasant one. And that it is even possible that, under such circumstances, his actual presence might be to the mandarin mind less awe-inspiring than the knowledge of the fact that he had the power to take up his abode there whenever the conduct of the Chinese Government gave occasion for complaint.

Enclosure 1, in No. 216.

Commissioners Kweiliang, Hwashana, &c., to the Earl of Elgin.

(*Translation.*)

Kwei, a Chief Secretary; Hwa, President, &c.; Ho, Governor-General of the Two Kiang; Ming, an officer of the household; and Twau, a titulary President, &c.; Imperial Commissioners, make a communication.

The proper end of treaty-negotiations is the maintenance of peace between two nations, with such an interchange of good offices that neither side is advantaged to the prejudice of the other, it will continue long in operation, its benefit unmixed.

This is the object really belonging to treating of peace and to improvement of relations.

When the Commissioners Kwei and Hwa negotiated a Treaty with your Excellency at Tientsin, British vessels-of-war were lying in that port; there was the pressure of an armed force, a state of excitement and alarm;[*] and the Treaty had to be signed, at once, without a moment's delay. Deliberation was out of the question; the Commissioners had no alternative but to accept the conditions forced upon them.[†] Among these were some of real injury to China, (to waive which) would have been of no disadvantage to your Excellency's Government; but, in the hurry of the moment, the Commissioners had no opportunity of offering your Excellency a frank explanation of these.

On their return to the capital, accordingly, His Majesty the Emperor issued a special commission to us all to come to Shanghae to consult together, and earnestly to press a matter which will be to the common advantage of both parties.

The sincerity of our desire for a lasting continuance of friendly relations is plain to the clear sight of your Excellency; and it is naturally our duty, acting towards you in a spirit of honesty, and with no intention to deceive, to set forth with all truth the matter which is the most irksome to China.

In Article III. of the Treaty it is laid down that "the Ambassador, or other such high officer of Her Majesty the Queen of England, may reside, permanently, at the capital, or may visit it occasionally, at the option of the British Government." (The employment of) the word "or" expressing, as it undoubtedly does, the absence of a decision, is evidence enough of the sense and reasonableness of your Excellency, who would not precipitately decide upon an arbitrary course towards any one.

Now the majority of the inhabitants of the capital are Banner-men,[‡] who, never having been beyond its walls, or in intercourse with other people, are quite ignorant of the feelings of men or the ways of the world outside. The business the officials, high and low, have to transact in the capital, again, is entirely metropolitan.

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[*] *Lit.* Weapons of war were constraining, there was a state of crackling fire and of rushing water.

[†] *Lit.* Could only bend and give consent. The word rendered "bend" generally implies the employment of undue violence.

[‡] Banner-men: the Manchus, Mongols, and Chinese, enrolled on the same footing, are formed into eight banners, under an establishment part civil, part military.

They have had no personal experience of the popular feeling on public affairs of provinces, and know nothing whatever about them. Then the habits and dispositions of the people of the capital are different from those of the eastern and southern provinces. If foreigners reside in Pekin, it will certainly come to pass that in their movements something will create misgiving and surprise on the part of the multitude; any slight misunderstanding will be sure to beget a quarrel; and great, indeed, would be the injury to our country were some trifling cause of difference to attain serious dimensions.* China, too, is at the present moment in a crisis of great difficulty, and should the people, as it is to be apprehended they might, be misled by idle words upon this point, they would commence some trouble in addition (to those already on our hands). It would never do, surely, to bring China to such a pass.

Peace being now to endure to perpetuity between China and your Excellency's country, the grand object of both must be their common interest, a community of weal and woe.

The fairness with which your Excellency proceeds in business is well known to us: you would be reluctant to impose a task of difficulty upon a friendly state; nor surely can there be less reluctance on the part of her Majesty, the Sovereign of your Excellency's country, illustrious for well-doing and justice, equitable in her administration, to employ the wealth of her realm and the power of her arm in inflicting this injury upon our country, in disregard of the amicable dispositions of China.

Besides, by every article of the Treaty, several times ten in number, your country is a gainer, and to no slight extent.

The assent of His Majesty the Emperor to every proposition really showed an extraordinary desire to accommodate a large abundance of kindly feeling.

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* *Lit.* Because of some little thing, agitation, or ferment, should grow to great hurt.

The condition of residence at Pekin is very irksome to China, and as the French and Americans have not this privilege (*lit.* Article), and it is only your nation that has, we beg your Excellency to consider what compromise may be effected, and to dispense with its peremptory (enforcement).

Should such an arrangement be agreed on, as is proposed, the Emperor will still specially depute, on the part of China, a Chief Secretary of State, or President of a Board, to reside in the provinces, at whatever point the high officer sent by your Excellency's Government may see fit to choose for his residence. When Nankin is retaken, he may, if it suit him, reside at Nankin.

The several provisions of the Treaty recently concluded are, without doubt, to be observed (or, will be sure to be observed) from this time forth for evermore. On the violation of any of them, it will be open (to the Minister) to establish himself permanently at the capital.

In making this request we have not the smallest intention of violating the Treaty. We write to propose that the point be reconsidered in our behalf, simply because the words "either" and "or" leave it undecided, and we trust your Excellency will yield it.

If there be anything else which may be to the advantage of your country, without doing injury to ours, it will be similarly for us to consider the means of accommodating you.

A necessary communication addressed to the Earl of Elgin, &c.

Hien-fung, 8th year, 9th moon, 10th day (October 22, 1858).

ENCLOSURE 2, in No. 216.

The Earl of Elgin to Commissioners Kweiliang, Hwashana, &c.

THE Undersigned has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the Imperial Commissioner's letter of the 22d instant.

The Commissioners express a hope that the Undersigned will consent to the establishment of Her Majesty's Minister in China at some other place than Pekin. They base their appeal to the Undersigned upon the wording of Article III. of the Treaty of Tientsin, which they quote.

It is the duty of the undersigned at once to declare emphatically that it is not in his power to alter or modify the conditions of the Treaty signed at Tientsin. It must rest with Her Britannic Majesty alone to decide which of the two courses left open by Treaty to Her Majesty is the more expedient—the permanent residence of her Representative at the capital, or his occasional appearance there. The Undersigned would, moreover, impress upon the Commissioners that, in insisting on the insertion of the Article in question in the Treaty, he was actuated by no intention to do injury to China, but by an earnest desire to obtain the best possible security for the preservation of peace between the two countries.

It is the usage of England, France, America, Russia, and every other Power in the Western world, to maintain Representatives at each other's capitals. These being in direct communication with high officers specially appointed to administer foreign affairs, the contingency of serious differences has been found to be, in a great measure, averted.

It has been the custom with China to intrust the administration of foreign affairs to an Imperial Commissioner at a great distance from the capital.

The result has been a succession of misunderstandings between that officer and the Representatives of foreign nations. The Court of Pekin has persisted in ignoring all complaints against this functionary, whose reports to it, on the other hand, have not been either complete or exact.

Hence all that has happened of hostility,—and it was to secure such a guarantee as the practice of western nations has shown to be of some avail against a recurrence of wars; to ward off the necessity for further capture of cities and destruction of forts,—that the Undersigned, under the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, demanded access for Her Majesty's Representative to the capital.

The right of that officer to reside at Pekin, if her Majesty shall see fit, being determined by Treaty, the Undersigned begs to repeat that no act or word of his can restrict its exercise as the Commissioners propose; nor, indeed, will he lightly undertake, the great object of the Treaty concession considered, to recommend its restriction.

That object has been clearly stated to the Commissioners, and the Undersigned really fears that it will not be in the power of their Excellencies to offer any guarantee for the good faith of the Imperial Government, and for the maintenance of peace between the countries, equivalent to that which would be furnished by the permanent residence of a British Minister at Pekin.

Shanghae, October 25, 1858.

(Signed) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

ENCLOSURE 3, in No. 216.

Commissioners Kweiliang, Hwashana, &c., to the Earl of Elgin.

(*Translation.*)

KWEI, a Chief Secretary, &c.; Hwa, President of the Board of Civil Office; Ho, Governor-General of the Two Kiang; Ming, a high officer of the Household; Twau, a titulary President, Imperial Commissioners, make a communication in reply.

We are in receipt of your Excellency's letter of the (25th October), to the effect that when you insisted in Article III. of the Treaty of Tientsin, that Her Britannic Majesty's Representatives should either reside in permanence at the capital, or visit it from time to time, you were actuated by no unfriendly feeling towards China, but, on the contrary, by a sincere desire for the continuance of peace between the two countries, and that the importance considered of the condition regarding the permanent residence of the British Minister at Pekin, viewed as a guarantee of good faith on the part of China, and uninterruptedness of friendly relations between our two countries, it will be difficult for us, you fear, to substitute any guarantee of equal value.

Inasmuch as in the Treaty of Peace concluded between our two nations, it is laid down that the British Minister shall either reside in permanence at the capital, or visit it occasionally, at the option of the British Government, such being the plain language of the Article, it must doubtless be abided by; and if it be the fixed purpose of your Excellency's Government that the residence (of the Minister) shall be permanent, China cannot of course gainsay this.

The established reputation of your Excellency for justice and straightforwardness, for kind intentions and friendly feeling, make us place the fullest confidence in your assurance that when you exacted the condition referred to, you were actuated by no desire whatever to do injury to China. The permanent residence of foreign Ministers at the capital would, notwithstanding, be an injury to China in many more ways than we can find words to express. In sum, in the present critical and troublous state of our country, this incident would generate, we fear, a loss of respect for their Government in the eyes of her people; and that this would indeed be no slight evil it will not be necessary, we assume, to explain to your Excellency, with greater detail.

It is for this reason that we specially address you a second letter on this subject, and we trust that your Excellency will represent for us to Her Majesty your Sovereign the great inconvenience you feel (the exercise of the right would be) to our country, and beseech her not to decide in favour of the permanent residence at Pekin.

When we bethink us of the lustre shed by the well-doing and justice of Her Majesty, we feel assured that she would not wish, by being peremptory in a matter so hurtful to our country, to involve it in embarrassment: and our country will not fail to be impressed with gratitude.

We are ourselves in perfect good faith, and if there be any method of proceeding by adopting which we demonstrate our sincerity, we beg your excellency to state it frankly; there is no satisfactory arrangement we are not ready to make.

It is our earnest hope the present feeling may be constantly observed on both sides, and that our two countries, evermore at peace with one another, may continue in the enjoyment of comfort and advantage.

A necessary communication, &c.

Hien-fung, 8th year, 9th moon, 22d day (October 28, 1858).

ENCLOSURE 4, in No. 216.

The Earl of Elgin to Commissioners Kweiliang, Hwashana, &c.

THE Undersigned has the honour to acknowledge the Imperial Commissioners' letter of the 28th instant.

The Imperial Commissioners observe, that if, in accordance with the plain language of the treaty-stipulations, Her Majesty's Government shall determine to place the British Minister in permanence at Pekin, it is impossible for China to gainsay this determination. This doubtless a correct appreciation of the inviolability of the conditions by Treaty agreed to.

Their Excellencies admit, at the same time, their faith in the Undersigned's assurance, that this treaty-right was not insisted on by the Undersigned with any intention to do injury to China, but, on the contrary, in a sincere desire to secure a continuance of peace between the two countries. Their Excellencies, he begs to assure them, do no more than justice to the intentions of the Undersigned.

The exercise of the treaty-right in question, their letter proceeds to urge is, notwithstanding, of serious prejudice to China, mainly because, in her present crisis of domestic troubles, it would tend to cause a loss of respect for their Government in the minds of her subjects; and their Excellencies accordingly request the Undersigned to beseech Her Majesty, to whom the Treaty undoubtedly leaves it to determine whether or not her Representatives shall permanently reside at the capital, or occasionally visit it, to decide in favour of the latter course.

Their proposal has been attentively considered by the Undersigned; and he now begs to state that, although he is resolved by no act or word to abate one tittle of the rights secured to his Government by Treaty, it is his wish, so far as such a course is consistent with his duty, to endeavour to reconcile due consideration of the feelings of the Chinese Government with the satisfaction of the rights of his own. He is prepared, consequently, on viewing the whole of the circumstances before him, at once to communicate to Her Majesty's Government the representations that have been addressed to him by their Excellencies the Imperial Comissioners upon this important question; and humbly to submit it as his opinion that if Her Majesty's Ambassador be properly received at Pekin when the ratifications are exchanged next year, and full effect given in all other particulars to the Treaty negotiated at Tientsin, it would certainly be expedient that Her Majesty's Representative in China should be instructed to choose a place of residence elsewhere than at Pekin, and to make his visits to the capital either periodical, or only as frequent as the exigencies of the public service may require.

Her Majesty's treaty-right will, of course, in any case, remain intact; but the Undersigned will take on himself so to express his conviction that, so long as the Imperial Government adheres with fidelity to its obligations towards England, China will have no cause to complain of a want of consideration on the part of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty.

The anxiety expressed by their Excellencies for an enduring continuance of peace, is not stronger than the desire of the Undersigned for an improvement of the friendly relations which he trusts from this time forth are now established between the two countries; and, with a view to the removal of all doubts and misgivings, he begs to add, that if, in the opinion of the Commissioners, the discussion of any proposition of common interest would be rendered easier or more advantageous by personal explanation, the Undersigned is willing to confer with their Excellencies whenever an interview may be convenient to them.

(Signed) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

No. III.

No. III.

THERMOMETRICAL REGISTER KEPT BY DR SAUNDERS, R.N.,

From April 1, 1858, *to March* 31, 1859.

Date, 1858.	Position.	Ther. in Shade, 7 A.M.	Ther. in Shade, 4 P.M.	Extreme Heat.	Extreme Cold.	Wind.	Weather.
		deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.		
April 1	At Shanghai	60	...	70	58	W.	Showery.
2	do.	50	...	67	50	N.W.	Fine.
3	do.	46	...	54	46	S.	Fine.
Sund. 4	do.	46	...	57	46	N.E.	Fine.
5	do.	52	...	55	45	E.	Rainy.
6	do.	51	...	57	50	E.	Rainy.
7	do.	51	...	55	50	S.E.	Rainy.
8	do.	51	...	54	51	E.	Fine.
9	do.	51	...	55	51	E.	Fine.
10	At Woosung	54	...	64	54	N.	Fine.
Sund. 11	Lat. 33° 16′ N., Long. 122° 55′ E.	55	...	60	54	E.	Fine.
12	35° 47′ ,, 123° 13′ ,,	50	...	54	49	N.E.	Fine.
13	37° 19′ ,, 121° 38′ ,,	45	...	62	44	N.	Fine.
14	In Gulf of Pechelee	49	...	53	46	N.E.	Fine.
15	do.	50	...	54	48	N.E.	Fine.
16	do.	55	...	61	48	N.E.	Fine.
17	do.	53	...	59	53	W.	Fine.
Sund. 18	do.	50	...	62	49	S.W.	Rainy, and squally.
19	do.	58	...	65	49	S.W.	Fine, squally.
20	do.	53	...	66	52	N.	Fine.
21	do.	49	...	65	50	S.W.	Fine, squally.
22	do.	54	...	62	48	E.	Fine.
23	do.	47	...	58	42	E.	Foggy, squally.
24	do.	53	...	61	53	N.W.	Fine.
Sund. 25	do.	55	...	58	53	S.W.	Fine, strong breeze.
26	do.	51	...	60	51	S.E.	Rainy.
27	do.	50	...	59	50	N.W.	Foggy, fine.
28	do.	50	...	62	48	N.W.	Fine, gale.
29	do.	56	...	62	51	N.W.	Fine, strong breeze.
30	do.	60	...	74	60	W.	Foggy.
May 1	do.	60	...	68	60	S.W.	Foggy, fine.
Sund. 2	do.	58	...	66	58	N.E.	Rainy, squally.
3	do.	57	...	64	57	W.	Fine.
4	do.	57	...	67	57	N.W.	Fine.
5	do.	59	...	61	55	S.W.	Fine.
6	do.	58	...	64	58	S.	Rainy.
7	do.	57	...	64	57	S.W.	Fine.
8	do.	61	...	67	54	S.	Fine, squally.

Date, 1858.	Position.	Ther. in Shade, 7 A.M.	Ther. in Shade, 4 P.M.	Extreme Heat.	Extreme Cold.	Wind.	Weather.
May,		deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.		
Sund. 9	In Gulf of Pechelee	61	...	61	59	S. E.	Showery, thun., &c.
10	do.	54	...	65	54	N.	Showery, squally.
11	do.	58	...	59	58	N.	Fine, strong breeze.
12	do.	60	...	60	59	S.W.	Fine, strong breeze.
13	do.	59	...	60	57	S.W.	Fine, strong breeze.
14	do.	60	...	68	60	S.	Fine.
15	do.	60	...	68	60	S.W.	Fine.
Sund. 16	do.	60	...	66	60	S.	Showery.
17	do.	57	...	65	63	N.	Showery.
18	do.	59	...	64	56	N.W.	Fine.
19	do.	63	...	63	53	W.	Fine.
20	do.	63	...	63	58	W.	Fine.
21	do.	64	...	64	55	S.W.	Fine.
22	do.	65	...	65	60	S.W.	Fine.
Sund. 23	do.	64	...	65	60	W.	Fine.
24	do.	66	...	70	62	S.W.	Fine.
25	do.	67	...	...	...	S.	Fine.
26	do.	64	...	...	...	E.	Cloudy, strong br.
27	do.	64	...	...	...	N.	Fine.
28	do.	68	72	...	...	S.W.	Fine.
29	do.	69	73	79	69	S. W.	Fine.
Sund. 30	do.	68	71	71	68	S.E.	Fine.
31	do.	71	71	75	67	S.W.	Showery, squally.
June 1	do.	67	71	76	65	S.E.	Fine.
2	do.	71	80	85	68	S.	Showery.
3	do.	69	76	79	69	S.	Showery, thunder.
4	do.	72	82	82	71	S.W.	Fine.
5	In Peiho River	78	88	88	74	S.W.	Showery.
Sund. 6	At Tientsin	76	79	79	70	N.E.	Fine.
7	do.	72	75	82	65	N.W.	Showery, squally.
8	do.	62	72	72	62	N.W.	Showery, squally.
9	do.	65	74	74	63	N.W.	Fine, squally.
10	do.	65	76	76	62	N.E.	Fine.
11	do.	64	79	79	64	S.E.	Fine.
12	do.	68	75	77	67	E.	Fine.
Sund. 13	do.	67	71	73	67	E.	Showery.
14	do.	66	80	80	66	N.W.	Fine.
15	do.	72	83	84	72	S.W.	Showery, thun., &c.
16	do.	73	82	82	72	E.	Fine, squally.
17	do.	72	81	82	72	E.	Fine.
18	do.	75	83	86	73	N.	Showery, thun., &c.
19	do.	69	82	82	69	N.W.	Fine.
Sund. 20	do.	73	83	83	73	S.E.	Fine.
21	do.	73	70	74	70	N.E.	Rainy.
22	do.	68	77	77	68	E.	Fine.
23	do.	71	78	78	70	S.E.	Cloudy, thun., &c.
24	do.	71	81	81	71	S.W.	Fine.
25	do.	71	83	83	71	S.E.	Fine.
26	do.	71	82	84	71	S.E.	Fine.
Sund. 27	do.	72	83	83	72	S.E.	Fine, thunder, &c.
28	do.	71	71	76	71	S.E.	Rainy, thunder, &c.
29	do.	69	76	77	69	S.E.	Fine.
30	do.	71	84	83	71	W.	Fine.

Date, 1858.	Position.	Ther. in Shade, 7 A.M.	Ther. in Shade, 4 P.M.	Extreme Heat.	Extreme Cold.	Wind.	Weather.
		deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.		
July 1	At Tientsin.	71	82	83	71	S.	Fine.
2	do.	73	84	83	73	S.	Fine.
3	do.	79	91	91	78	S.W.	Fine.
Sund. 4	do.	81	92	96	80	W.	Fine.
5	do.	83	92	92	82	S.W.	Fine.
6	Steaming down Peiho River	81	...	92	81	S.E.	Fine.
7	In Gulf of Pechelee	...	83	...	83	S.E.	Fine.
8	Lat. 39° 56′ N., Long. 120° 5′ E.	78	80	80	78	N.	Rainy.
9	37° 49′ ,, 122° 7′ ,,	72	82	82	72	S.E.	Fine.
10	35° 15′ ,, 122° 47′ ,,	75	81	81	75	S.	Showery.
Sund. 11	32° 18′ ,, 122° 50′ ,,	81	83	83	80	S.W.	Fine.
12	At Shanghai	82	86	86	82	S.W.	Fine, lightning.
13	do.	85	91	91	83	S.	Fine, lightning.
14	do.	86	94	94	86	S.	Fine.
15	do.	86	92	92	86	Calm.	Fine.
16	do.	86	91	...	...	Calm.	Fine.
17	do.	86	93	...	...	Calm.	Fine.
Sund. 18	do.	87	93	...	...	Calm.	Cloudy, thun., &c.
19	do.	81	86	...	...	Calm.	Showery.
20	do.	83	82	...	...	S.	Showery, thun., &c.
21	do.	83	...	...	...	...	Showery, thun., &c.
22	do.	81	81	...	...	...	Showery, thun., &c.
23	do.	79	83	...	...	...	Showery, thun., &c.
24	do.	79	86	...	...	...	Fine.
Sund. 25	do.	81	87	...	...	...	Fine.
26	do.	83	85	...	...	...	Fine.
27	do.	83	87	...	...	...	Squally, thun., &c.
28	do.	81	82	...	...	...	Showery, thun., &c.
29	do.	80	86	...	...	...	Fine.
30	do.	80	85	...	...	...	Fine.
31	Steaming down River	84	85	...	...	...	Fine.
Aug. Sund. 1	Lat. 31° 33′ N., Long. 125° 0′ E.	83	83	...	...	...	Showery.
2	31° 51′ ,, 127° 38′ ,,	83	84	...	...	...	Fine.
3	At Nagasaki, Japan	82	84	...	...	...	Showery.
4	do.	84	86	...	...	...	Fine.
5	32° 44′ ,, do. 129° 52′ ,,	83	87	...	...	...	Fine.
6	31° 0′ ,, do. 130° 20′ ,,	84	83	...	...	...	Showery.
7	Near Cape Chichacoff	84	84	...	...	S.W.	Showery, gale.
Sund. 8	Lat. 31° 21′ N., Long. 132° 5′ E.	84	85	...	...	S.W.	Showery, gale.
9	31° 51′ ,, 136° 49′ ,,	83	83	...	...	S.W.	Fine, strong breeze.
10	At Simoda, Japan	78	84	...	...	W.	Fine, strong breeze.
11	do.	80	84	...	...	W.	Fine.
12	At Yeddo, Japan	78	84	...	...	W.	Fine, squally.
13	do.	82	80	...	...	S.W.	Showery, squally.
14	do.	73	76	...	...	E.	Rainy.
Sund. 15	do.	71	78	...	...	Calm.	Fine.
16	do.	73	72	...	...	N.E.	Showery.
17	do.	72	78	...	...	N.	Fine.
18	do.	73	77	...	...	...	Fine.
19	do.	71	76	...	...	...	Cloudy.
20	do.	68	...	...	...	...	Fine.
21	do.	75	81	...	...	...	Showery.

Date, 1858.	Position.	Ther. in Shade, 7 A.M.	Ther. in Shade, 4 P.M.	Extreme Heat.	Extreme Cold.	Wind.	Weather.
Aug.		deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.		
Sund. 22	At Yeddo, Japan	75	79	...	...	...	Rainy.
23	do.	77	80	...	...	...	Showery, strong br.
24	do.	76	85	...	...	...	Fine.
25	do.	75	84	...	...	...	Fine.
26	do.	73	...	...	...	...	Fine.
27	Steaming out of Yeddo River	75	78	...	...	...	Fine.
28	Lat. 32° 54′ N., Long. 135° 33′ E.	81	82	...	...	...	Showery.
Sund. 29	31° 27′ ,, 131° 51′ ,,	83	80	...	...	...	Rainy, gale.
30	Cape Chichacoff	80	82	...	...	...	Showery, squally.
31	Lat. 31° 2′ N., Long. 125° 31′ E.	79	76	...	...	...	Showery, gale.
Sept. 1	30° 33′ ,, 123° 53′ ,,	74	79	82	70	N.W.	Showery, strong br.
2	In Woosung River	77	78	80	70	N.W.	Showery.
3	At Shanghai	74	81	...	...	N.W.	Fine, strong br.
4	do.	71	83	83	70	N.	Fine.
Sund. 5	do.	71	79	82	69	N.	Fine, strong br.
6	do.	73	82	84	68	S.E.	Fine.
7	do.	74	80	80	73	S.E.	Fine, squally.
8	do.	76	80	80	73	E.	Fine.
9	do.	78	85	85	74	S.E.	Fine.
10	do.	79	82	85	74	S.E.	Fine.
11	do.	79	80	80	75	E.	Showery, strong br.
Sund. 12	do.	79	80	80	76	E.	Cloudy, strong br.
13	do.	79	80	82	76	S.E.	Showery, strong br.
14	do.	79	81	81	75	S.E.	Showery.
15	do.	79	87	87	75	S.	Showery, lightning.
16	do.	78	77	82	72	N.W.	Rainy.
17	do.	76	78	80	70	S.E.	Showery.
18	do.	75	78	78	69	S.E.	Fine, strong br.
Sund. 19	do.	74	82	82	74	S.E.	Fine.
20	do.	78	83	85	69	S.	Fine.
21	do.	73	77	78	70	N.E.	Fine, strong br.
22	do.	75	77	79	69	S.E.	Fine.
23	do.	75	75	75	66	N.	Rainy, squally.
24	do.	69	71	71	65	N.	Rainy, squally.
25	do.	68	73	74	63	N.W.	Fine.
Sund. 26	do.	67	75	77	65	E.	Fine.
27	do.	69	75	77	65	E.	Fine.
28	do.	71	75	77	66	E.	Fine.
29	do.	73	77	79	69	S.E.	Fine.
30	do.	73	80	81	70	S.	Showery.
Oct. 1	do.	70	65	71	61	N.	Cloudy, squally.
2	do.	64	71	72	60	N.W.	Fine.
Sund. 3	do.	65	74	74	64	N.E.	Fine.
4	do.	67	71	74	64	N.E.	Cloudy.
5	do.	67	72	73	60	E.	Fine.
6	do.	64	71	73	62	E.	Fine.
7	do.	63	72	72	62	S.E.	Fine.
8	do.	66	73	73	64	S.E.	Fine.
9	do.	65	73	73	64	S.E.	Fine.
Sund. 10	do.	65	70	71	64	E.	Rainy.

Date, 1858.	Position.	Ther. in Shade, 7 A.M.	Ther. in Shade, 4 P.M.	Extreme Heat.	Extreme Cold.	Wind.	Weather.
		deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.		
Oct. 11	At Shanghai	66	72	73	60	N.E.	Fine.
12	do.	65	72	72	59	E.	Fine.
13	do.	63	72	73	61	E.	Fine.
14	do.	66	69	71	55	N.E.	Fine.
15	do.	57	69	69	57	E.	Fine.
16	do.	64	65	69	57	N.	Cloudy.
Sund. 17	do.	62	67	69	56	N.E.	Fine.
18	do.	59	67	69	56	N.E.	Fine.
19	do.	62	67	68	54	N.E.	Fine.
20	do.	56	67	68	54	N.	Fine.
21	do.	64	67	69	61	E.	Cloudy.
22	do.	63	69	69	53	S.E.	Fine.
23	do.	55	64	64	49	N.W.	Fine.
Sund. 24	do.	52	67	67	52	W.	Fine.
25	do.	52	68	68	52	E.	Fine.
26	do.	60	70	70	51	S.E.	Fine.
27	do.	53	70	70	52	W.	Fine.
28	do.	55	67	67	55	E.	Fine.
29	do.	60	71	71	56	S.E.	Fine.
30	do.	55	62	64	45	N.W.	Fine.
Sund. 31	do.	48	66	66	47	W.	Fine.
Nov. 1	do.	49	69	70	48	S.W.	Fine.
2	do.	50	69	70	49	W.	Fine.
3	do.	47	68	69	47	N.W.	Foggy, fine.
4	do.	53	62	63	48	N.E.	Fine.
5	do.	51	63	63	48	E.	Fine.
6	do.	55	67	67	46	W.	Fine.
Sund. 7	do.	50	66	69	42	N.W.	Fine.
8	Steaming down River	46	62	66	41	N.W.	Fine.
9	In Yang-tse-Kiang	58	68	69	50	S.	Fine.
10	do.	57	67	71	47	W.	Fine.
11	Off Fooshan	55	66	66	43	N.W.	Fine.
12	do.	53	67	69	44	W.	Fine.
13	do.	56	67	73	51	W.	Fine.
Sund. 14	Between Fooshan & Kiang-yin	57	66	68	46	E.	Fine.
15	Near Kiang-yin	54	57	60	42	N.E.	Fine, strong breeze.
16	Silver Island Rock	37	53	55	36	E.	Fine.
17	do.	42	62	62	42	S.E.	Fine.
18	do.	49	?	66	47	N.E.	Fine.
19	do.	50	?	65	48	...	Fine.
20	Between Chin-kiang & Nanking	48	65	67	48	S.W.	Fine.
Sund. 21	Between Nankin and Taiping	48	62	64	40	N.E.	Fine.
22	Off Taiping	46	61	61	45	S.E.	Fine.
23	Between Taiping and Wuhu	45	65	65	45	W.	Fine.
24	Off Kewheen	50	62	62	42	W.	Fine.
25	Between Kewheen & Tsung-yang	46	63	63	44	N.W.	Fine.
26	Off Nganking-foo	49	62	62	45	N.	Fine.
27	Above Tungliu	48	65	65	48	N.	Fine.
Sund. 28	Near Pangtsch-hien	53	52	58	48	N.E.	Fine, strong breeze.
29	Off Hukau	31	48	48	28	N.E.	Fine.
30	Off Kiukiang-foo	39	?	44	31	E.	Fine.

Date, 1858.	Position.	Ther. in Shade, 7 A.M.	Ther. in Shade, 4 P.M.	Extreme Heat.	Extreme Cold.	Wind.	Weather.
		deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.		
Dec. 1	Between Kewkeang & Kechow	38	51	51	34	Calm	Fine.
2	Passing Kechow	49	55	55	42	N.E.	Cloudy.
3	Between Kechow & Hwanchow	48	54	54	37	N.W.	Cloudy.
4	Above Hwanchow	43	53	53	37	E.	Showery.
Sund. 5	Between Hwanchow & Yanglo	47	48	50	43	E.	Rainy.
6	Between Yanglo and Hankow	36	?	48	36	E.	Foggy, fine.
7	At anchor off Hankow	43	57	57	39	N.E.	Fine.
8	do.	47	63	63	42	Calm.	Fine.
9	do.	52	54	57	48	N.E.	Rainy.
10	do.	45	57	57	39	N.E.	Fine.
11	do.	54	58	58	44	E.	Fine.
Sund. 12	Between Hankow & Hwanchow	50	?	50	47	E.	Foggy, showery.
13	Betw. Hwanchow & Woochang	35	56	56	35	N.	Fine.
14	Between Hwanchow and Paho	43	?	50	32	N.	Fine.
15	Between Paho and Shihwayu	37	51	51	31	S.E.	Fine.
16	Between Shihwayu & Wooseuh	43	43	52	43	S.E.	Rainy, hail.
17	Between Wooseuh & Kew-keang	44	45	53	44	S.E.	Rainy, squally.
18	do.	44	?	54	42	E.	Rainy, squally.
Sund. 19	do.	44	44	49	41	N.	Rainy.
20	Near Kew-keang	42	46	51	42	E.	Rainy.
21	At anchor below Kew-keang	47	?	57	42	W.	Rainy.
22	do.	43	46	54	43	E.	Rainy.
23	do.	43	?	49	39	W.	Rainy.
24	Between Kew-keang & Tungliu	44	46	50	42	N.E.	Rainy, strong br.
25	Between Tungliu & Nganking	43	45	47	41	N.E.	Rainy.
Sund. 26	Between Nganking & Toonglu	39	41	46	39	N.E.	Rain, snow.
27	Between Tookeaow & Woohoo	43	46	49	43	N.E.	Rainy.
28	Between Woohoo & Taiping	41	45	46	40	N.	Rainy.
29	Between Taiping and Nanking	39	39	44	37	N.E.	Snow.
30	Between Nanking and Chosan	34	38	46	34	N.E.	Snow.
31	Between Chosan and Plover P.	34	41	43	34	N.E.	Cloudy.
1859.							
Jan. 1	At Shanghai	36	47	47	33	W.	Fine.
Sund. 2	do.	32	33	37	28	N.W.	Fine.
3	do.	29	34	40	27	N.W.	Fine.
4	do.	23	38	40	23	S.W.	Fine.
5	do.	30	39	45	30	N.W.	Fine.
6	do.	26	43	47	26	N.W.	Fine.
7	do.	30	?	41	30	N.W.	Fine.
8	do.	29	41	45	29	E.	Fine.
Sund. 9	do.	36	51	54	36	S.	Fine.
10	do.	37	55	53	34	W.	Fine.
11	do.	31	45	52	31	N.W.	Fine.
12	do.	33	47	53	33	E.	Fine.
13	do.	36	53	56	36	W.	Fine.
14	do.	42	42	47	33	N.E.	Rainy, squally.
15	do.	29	37	49	28	N.W.	Fine.
Sund. 16	do.	27	39	44	27	W.	Fine.
17	do.	29	37	44	25	N.W.	Fine, squally.
18	do.	21	40	40	21	S.	Fine.
19	do.	35	55	55	35	S.	Fine.
20	do.	41	49	52	41	N.E.	Foggy.

Date, 1859.	Position.	Ther. in Shade, 7 A.M.	Ther. in Shade, 4 P.M.	Extreme Heat.	Extreme Cold.	Wind.	Weather.
		deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.		
Jan. 21	At Shanghai	44	45	47	39	N.E.	Rainy.
22	do.	39	42	...	...	N.	Rainy.
Sund. 23	do.	37	34	...	...	N.W.	Rain, snow.
24	do.	34	41	...	...	N.	Cloudy.
25	do.	39	?	...	...	N.E.	Rainy.
26	Steaming down River	42	41	...	27	N.E.	Cloudy.
27	Anchor at Woosung	30	31	...	27	N.E.	Fine.
28	Steaming down River	31	43	...	26	N.NE.	Fine.
29	Bet. Woosung & Hong-Kong	49	50	...	...	N.NE.	Cloudy.
Sund. 30	do.	53	54	...	...	N.NE.	Misty rain.
31	do.	56	58	...	...	N.E.	Cloudy.
Feb. 1	Pedro Blanca in sight	59	66	...	...	3 N.	Fine.
2	Anchor at Hong-Kong	56	57	...	...	2 N.W.	Showery.
3	Canton River	53	51	...	...	3 N.	Cloudy.
4	do.	45	46	...	...	2 N.W.	Rainy.
5	do.	44	?	...	...	2 N.	Showery.
Sund. 6	do.	46	51	...	...	4 N.W.	Cloudy.
7	do.	48	55	...	...	2 N.W.	Cloudy.
8	do.	46	61	...	...	1 S.E.	Fine.
9	do.	54	64	...	...	1 S.E.	Misty rain.
10	do.	59	69	...	...	Calm.	Fine.
11	do.	59	68	...	...	2 N.W.	Fine.
12	do.	59	68	...	...	3 W.	Fine.
Sund. 13	do.	53	69	...	...	2 N.W.	Fine.
14	do.	52	69	...	...	2 S.E.	Fine.
15	do.	59	71	...	...	Calm.	Fine.
16	Anchor at Macao	64	67	...	...	Calm.	Fine.
17	Between Macao and Hainan	58	63	...	...	N.E.	Fine.
18	Hainan	70	73	...	...	N.E.	Fine.
19	Hoilangshan	64	68	...	...	E.	Fine.
Sund. 20	St John's	62	65	...	...	E.NE.	Fine.
21	Between St John's and C. R.	57	58	...	...	N.E.	Cloudy.
22	Hong-Kong	53	60	...	...	N.	Fine.
23	do.	53	66	...	...	E.	Fine.
24	do.	53	60	...	...	E.	Showery.
25	do.	59	64	...	...	E.	Showery.
26	do.	65	73	...	...	N.E.	Cloudy.
Sund. 27	do.	69	75	...	...	Calm.	Misty rain.
28	do.	73	73	...	...	Calm.	Cloudy.
Mar. 1	do.	73	74	...	...	Calm.	Showery.
2	Canton River	69	74	...	...	S.E.	Thunder, lightg. &c.
3	do.	65	60	...	...	E.	Rainy.
4	Steaming out of River	51	56	...	...	N.E.	Cloudy.
5	Lat. N., Long. E.	71	74	...	...	E.	Fine.
Sund. 6		77	70	...	...	E.	Fine.
7	12° 40′ ,, ,,	80	82	...	...	E.	Fine.
8	10° 7′ ,, ,,	80	82	...	...	E.	Fine.
9	7° 23′ ,, ,,	80	82	...	...	S.E.	Fine.
10	4° 20′ ,, ,,	82	83	...	...	S.E.	Showery.
11	Pedro Blanca	79	76	...	...	N.W.	Showery.

Date, 1859.	Position.	Ther. in Shade, 7 A.M.	Ther. in Shade, 4 P.M.	Exreme Heat.	Extreme Cold.	Wind.	Weather.
		deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.		
Mar. 12	At Singapore	76	82	...	...	N.E.	Showery.
Sund. 13	Left Singapore 2 P.M.	82	83	...	...	W.	Fine.
14	M. Straits of Malacca	79	84	...	...	W.	Fine.
15	At Penang	82	85	...	...	N.W.	Fine.
16	Left Penang 8 A.M.	80	85	...	...	E.	Fine.
17	Lat. Long.	84	...	...	...	N.	Fine.
18							
19							
Sund. 20							
21							
22							
23							
24							
25							
26							
Sund. 27							
28							
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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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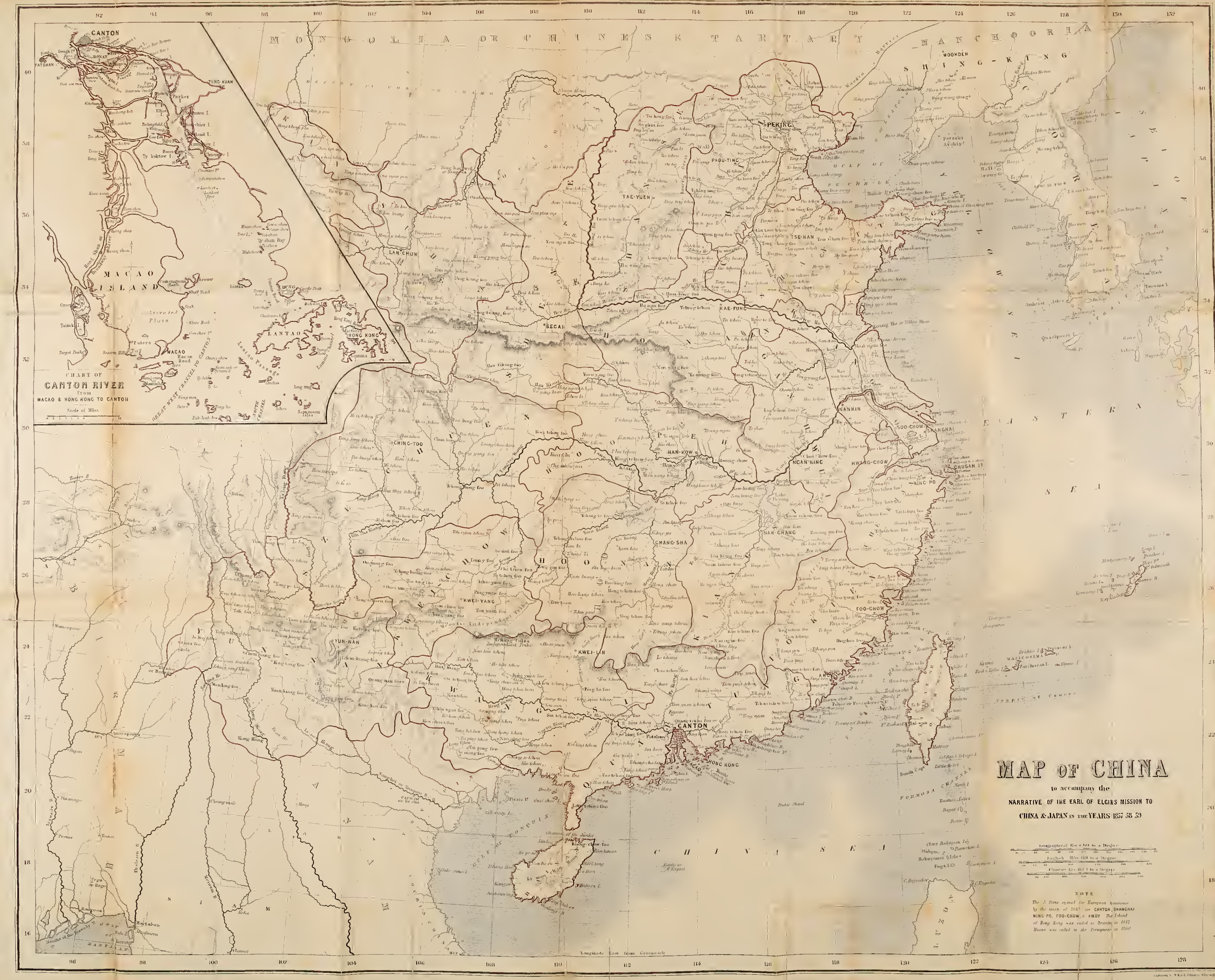

MAP OF CHINA

to accompany the

NARRATIVE OF THE EARL OF ELGINS MISSION TO

CHINA & JAPAN IN THE YEARS 1857 58 59

NOTE

The 5 Ports opened for European Commerce by the treaty of 1842 are CANTON, SHANGHAI NING-PO, FOO-CHOW, & AMOY. *The Island of Hong Kong was ceded to Britain in 1842 Macao was ceded to the Portuguese in 1586*

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Oliphant, Laurence
Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's mission to China and Japan in the years 1857, '58, '59

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